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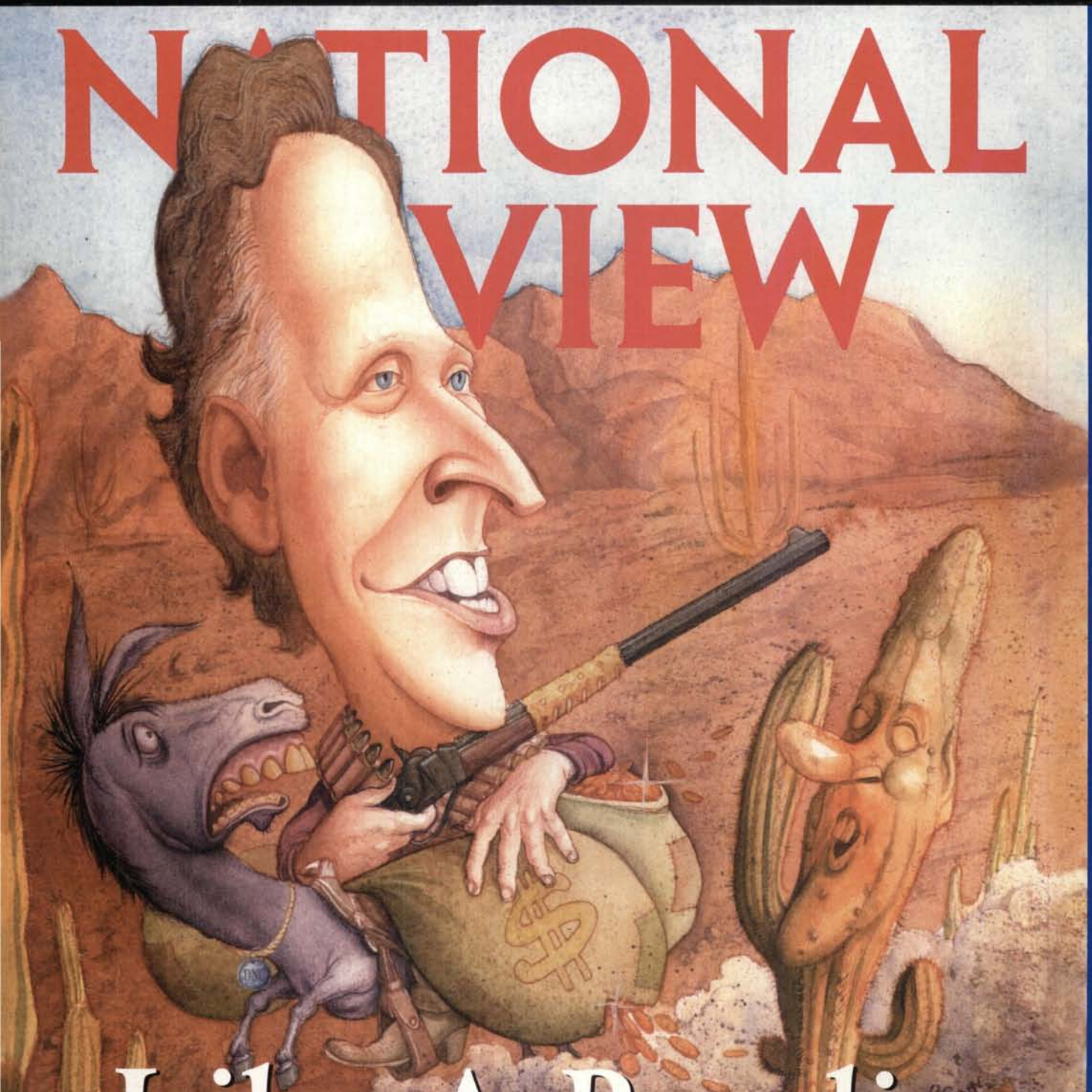
SEPTEMBER 11

VICTOR DAVIS HANSON: How to Remember
JOHN O'SULLIVAN: Not Enough Has Changed

NATIONAL VIEW



Like A Bandit

HOW DNC CHAIRMAN TERRY McAULIFFE GOT RICH

— by Byron Y

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A world of ideas on public policy.

Modernizing Health Insurance to Pay for Medical Progress

by J. D. Kleinke

Recent dramatic improvements in public health in the United States all point to one source: major pharmaceutical breakthroughs during the past decade. Americans today have access to more and better drugs, but this medical progress is expensive. In numerous therapeutic areas, better medicines increase costs, at least in the short run. In other areas, better medicines that produce short-run savings add costs in the long run. The answer to this problem is not to control drug prices or restrict access to innovative therapies. Instead, federal and state laws regulating health insurance and provider risk-sharing need to be revamped to encourage, rather than constrain, the social progress embodied in expensive, breakthrough medical technologies.

Although many new medicines reduce medical costs over the long run, many do not pay off quickly enough for health insurers. Public and private payers have responded by using various means – such as arbitrary drug "caps," crude utilization review methods, and design manipulations of benefit plans – to control "excessive" spending on pharmaceuticals. Such measures almost always have negative results for patient welfare.

Healthcare purchasers and payers should make their spending decisions with a selectivity based on clinical and economic value – a sophistication that stands in stark contrast to today's price-driven "tiering" of coverage and co-payment. Price and utilization controls are ineffective and counter-productive because they attempt to reverse two profound, historic phenomena at work in the U.S. healthcare system. The added costs associated with breakthrough medicines represent a major structural shift from the provision of traditional medical services to the consumption of medical products. They also represent the creation of economic, social, and public health utility that we value as a society.

Unfortunately, our current health insurance system – including Medicare – is hopelessly out of step with the inevitable rotation of medical care delivery from services to technology. The absence of a Medicare outpatient prescription drug benefit is the most glaring illustration of this problem.

> ***Federal and state laws regulating health insurance and provider risk-sharing need to be revamped to encourage rather than constrain the social progress embodied in expensive, breakthrough medical technologies***

The changing mix of drug costs and other medical expenses imposes upon payers the maddening task of rationalizing and managing aggregate healthcare spending. Different classes of medicines pose starkly different value propositions for payers. Most insurers – focused on quarterly or annual financial targets – willingly pay for "expensive" new drugs (such as anticoagulant therapy for stroke) that reduce short-term health-care costs. These drugs are a bargain for payers and society, compared with the costs of the chronic diseases that they delay, manage, or prevent. But insurers have far less incentive to reimburse other "expensive" medicines that decrease medical costs only after several years, if at all. In the latter category are drugs that reduce only non-medical costs (such as those borne by employers), or that actually increase long-term costs by extending the lives of patients with chronic illnesses, or that significantly improve people's lives without saving any money at all, as many so-called "lifestyle drugs" do.

The best way to rationalize the conflicting value propositions created by "expensive" new medicines is to fix several major flaws in our current health insurance system. First, establish tax parity for all health benefits and non-covered medical expenses; this would neutralize the role of the employer in switching health plans, reduce enrollee turnover, and push out the pharmaceutical investment horizon for insurers. Second, relax federal laws that galvanize the separation of physicians and hospitals and thus doom the market's desire to manage pharmacy costs by managing economic incentives of providers. Third, establish federal mandates for classes of drugs with enormous clinical value but negative economic returns, eliminating the compulsion of insurers and self-insured employers to underpay for drugs that provide no short-term medical cost savings.

The health insurance system is struggling mightily to pay for our great medical progress. Today, doing the right thing for patients is too often the wrong thing for insurance company shareholders. We should accept this fact of our medical progress and adapt our insurance system accordingly. Our society will not tolerate explicit rationing. Our only recourses are to make implicit rationing transparent and to pay for our medical progress the good old-fashioned way: collectively, through better health insurance coverage.

J. D. Kleinke is president of Health Strategies Network, a health information technology research company in Denver, Colorado. *A full-length version of this editorial was originally published in the September/October 2001 issue of* **Health Affairs** *as "The Price of Progress: Prescription Drugs in the Health Care Market."* *Copyright (c) 2001. www.healthaffairs.org*

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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■ LETTERS ■

A VOTE FOR BOB

As Sen. Bob Smith's former press secretary, I can't say I was surprised to see Bernadette Malone's anti-Smith article ("Smith vs. Sununu," Sept. 2) in NR. Your wonkish and establishment-type magazine never really understood what makes Sen. Smith and his supporters tick.

I was also disappointed, but again not surprised, to see how much the young NR editors apparently care what the polls say. I'm sure that Rockefeller Republican Warren Rudman would poll very well against Jeanne Shaheen, but does that make him right? And since when does NR butt in to Republican primaries, especially when the ideological differences are supposedly so slight?

One thing I learned as a press secretary is that if certain journalists and movement Republicans don't get stroked just so, then they think that a senator "has done very little" behind the scenes.

New Hampshire's roadsides are littered with the remains of those who underestimated Bob Smith. I would hope that after Sen. Smith sends John Sununu back to the private sector, NR would help Sen. Smith in his re-election fight as much as you have tried to hurt him in the primary.

Karen M. Hickey
Alexandria, Va.

A VOTE FOR FIDO

In his City Desk column of Sept. 2, Richard Brookhiser states: "Dogs by contrast have neither pride, nor shame, nor awareness of playing a role in society."

While I respect Mr. Brookhiser's valid reasoning against the anthropomorphic portrayal of dogs, he is guilty of generalization and downplays the legitimate role certain breeds play in society.

My German shepherd protects my property and my family. Day and night, it notifies my wife and me of persons coming near our home. This protective gene is inbred, as is the dog's concept of service.

So, Mr. Brookhiser, I agree: NYC must be tough on dogs and people alike. But for those of us in rural and suburban areas, as well as those in law enforcement and the military, our working-class dogs provide us service that no other animal is capable of.

Jim Settembre
Lake Worth, Fla.

AGAINST VOUCHERS—FROM THE RIGHT

I must take exception to "School Choice, Not an Echo" by John J. Miller (July 29). If vouchers are allowed, several things will happen:

Headmasters will relax entrance standards for fear of lawsuits by the intellectually unqualified; liberals will use whatever clout they have to push the separation-of-church-and-state theory to get religion out of private schools; liberals will also examine private-school textbooks and try to replace history and science with politically correct garbage; and remedial classes will have to be instituted to accommodate voucher students. So if people want school choice, let them choose among public schools, forcing them to compete for students, raise their standards, and hire the best teachers, those who can inspire their students to perform.

I hope other conservatives will rethink their position on this issue and do everything in their power to stop vouchers from destroying our private schools.

Elizabeth R. Dickinson
Newport News, Va.

LONESOME DOVE?

In The Week (Sept. 2), you criticize Dick Armey's stance on Iraq, and sum up by saying, "Conservatives have looked to Armey for leadership on a great many things over the years, but we expect that very few are going to follow his lead this time."

Does that mean that he will most likely find himself an Armey of One?

Mike Martel
Bristol, R.I.

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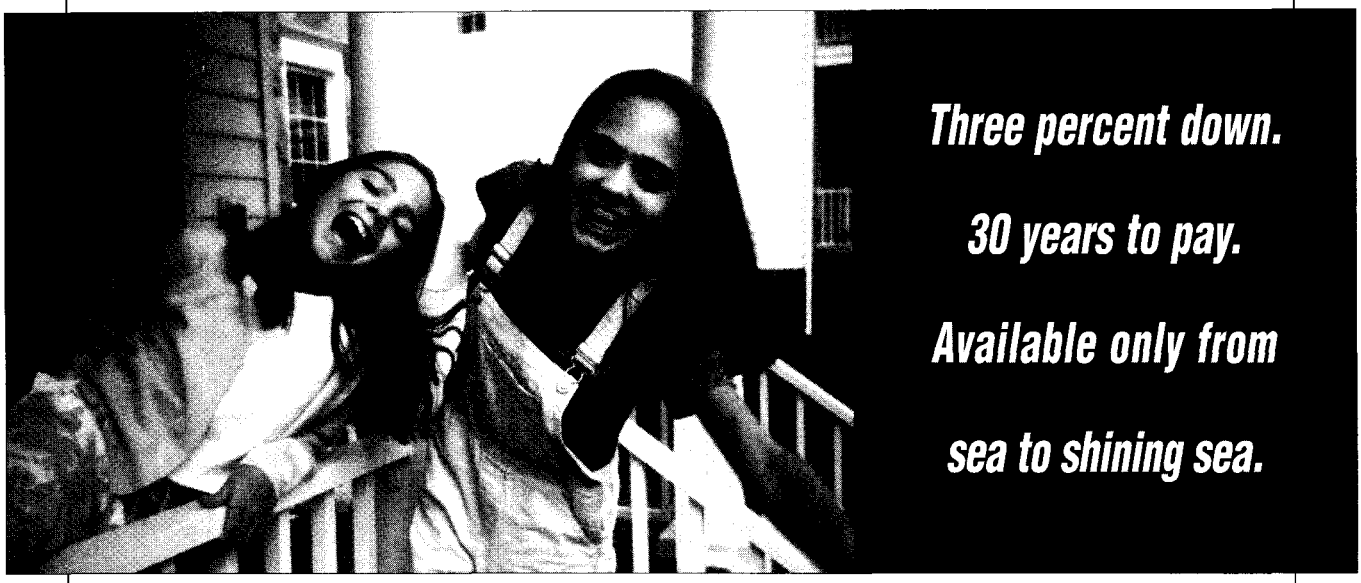

Buying a home with ease is a privilege limited largely to the United States. The 30 year fixed-rate mortgage, a standard in this country, is unheard of in England. Down payments start at 50% in Japan. Terms are limited to 15 years in France. And in Spain, refinancing comes with a cancellation fee.

Why do U.S. homeowners have it so much better? Other countries rely solely on bank deposits to finance homes. America relies on Freddie Mac.

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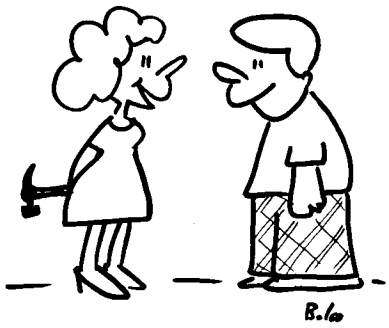
FOR THE RECORD

As President **Bush** earns "positive" job rating of 63 percent in Harris poll, Secretary of State **Colin Powell** scores 75 percent, Secretary of Defense **Donald Rumsfeld** 60 percent, and Attorney General **John Ashcroft** 53 percent. . . . Bush, in Oregon: "I think we need to be honest with the American people. The forest policy of our government is misguided policy. It does not work." . . . Bush on Iraq, in Texas: "Regime change is in the interests of the world. . . . Nothing **[Saddam Hussein]** has done has convinced me . . . that he is the kind of fellow that is willing to forgo weapons of mass destruction, is willing to be a peaceful neighbor." . . . Bush's summer reading list includes *Supreme Command* by NR contributor **Eliot A. Cohen**, according to AP.

Sen. **John Kerry** (D., Mass.): "The saber-rattling and loud war talk of this administration exceeds their capacity or their preparedness to move." . . . Former defense secretary **Bill Cohen** on whether **Bill Clinton** would have supported invasion of Iraq: "I think he would have continued the containment policy which has worked up to date and unless he had much greater intelligence on the nature of the threat, probably not." . . . Military has best recruiting year in recent memory. "All the services have had a good year, and I think there's no doubt there's been some spillover from Sept. 11," says Army Maj. Gen. **Michael Rochelle,** in *USA Today*. . . . In CNN/Gallup/*USA Today* poll, 53 percent of Americans support war with Iraq "to remove Saddam Hussein from power," down from 61 percent in July. . . . American oil companies slash imports of Iraqi oil, in anticipation of invasion. . . . Rumsfeld: "There are al-Qaeda in a number of locations in Iraq." . . . Former Republican secretary of state **Lawrence Eagleburger** declares opposition to Iraq invasion, blasts **Richard Perle** and **Paul Wolfowitz**, on Fox News: "I must tell you, I think they're devious. . . . I am scared to death that they are going to convince the president that they can do this overthrow of Saddam on the cheap, and we'll find ourselves in the middle of a swamp because we didn't plan to do it in the right way." . . . Managers at 133 airports say they can't meet Dec. 31 deadline for screening all luggage without creating tremendous headaches for passengers.

Bush considers proposing new round of tax cuts. . . . Sen. **Joe Lieberman** (D., Conn.), according to AP: "The president has to take a second look at the very large tax cut he pushed through last year." . . . Rep. **Eddie Bernice Johnson** (D., Texas), chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, responds to **Cynthia McKinney** defeat by telling *Washington Post* that blacks increasingly believe "Jewish people are attempting to pick our leaders. . . . There is some concern about that. It's concern about any candidate being targeted by a special-interest group for voting on any one issue." . . . Bill Clinton plans trip to



"I like men who aren't afraid to cry."

Arkansas to support Democrats, but Senate candidate **Mark Pryor** sends regrets. . . . **Rudy Giuliani** already has appeared in political ads costing $3.4 million, according to **Ken Goldstein** of University of Wisconsin.

In poll by Democratic firm Berenson Strategies, Sen. **Bob Torricelli** (D., N.J.) and **Doug Forrester** are in dead heat, 40 percent to 40 percent. . . . GOP firm Public Opinion Strategies has Forrester ahead, 44 percent to 32 percent. . . . National Republican Senatorial Committee notes that Torricelli victory as college sophomore class president was invalidated because of "gross unethical conduct." . . . As California governor **Gray Davis** (D.) maintains advantage in polls over challenger **Bill Simon** (R.), top Davis aide **Garry South** comments, "You cannot assume for one minute in any campaign in California that voters know anything about anything." . . . As Vermont governor **Howard Dean** (D.) campaigns for president, 63 percent of his constituents say they would not vote for him. . . . In Gonzales/Arscott poll, lieutenant governor **Kathleen Kennedy Townsend** holds surprisingly slim lead over Rep. **Robert Ehrlich** (R.) in race for governor, 47 percent to 43 percent. . . . Sen. **Fritz Hollings** (D., S.C.) on Democratic presidential hopefuls, in Columbia *State*: "If you have to pick the one who is front and center at the moment, it would be John Kerry. . . . He's solid." . . . In McLaughlin & Associates poll of Hispanics, Bush leads **Al Gore** 50 percent to 35 percent in 2004 matchup.

Capital Research Center releases annual report card on corporate philanthropy: "Too many major American corporations fund nonprofit political advocacy groups whose missions are hostile to the free market, the system that enables business to earn—and share—their profits." Worst offender is Freddie Mac. Others earning F grade are J. P. Morgan & Co., Fannie Mae, May Department Stores, and Merrill Lynch. Best corporate givers, earning B grade, are ExxonMobil and Cigna.

Palestinian terrorist **Abu Nidal**, blamed for hundreds of deaths in 1970s and 1980s, reportedly dies in Baghdad. . . . Islamic court in Nigeria upholds sentence against **Amina Lawal** for having sex out of wedlock; she is scheduled to be stoned to death when her 8-month-old baby is fully weaned. . . . Former South African president **P. W. Botha** on rumors that he died: "I am sorry to disappoint you."

David Letterman: "Bill Clinton is getting his own daily TV show here on CBS. It's going to be a public affairs show. That makes perfect sense, because who knows more about public affairs than President Clinton?" **NR**

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THE WEEK

■ Hosni Mubarak, president-for-life of Egypt, called Ariel Sharon a "fatso," saying, "I hear he eats an entire lamb for dinner." Well, actually, if you read the Arab press, you know that Sharon really bloats himself on the blood of Arab children.

■ It's bad enough that the *New York Times* is using both its news and editorial pages to crusade against Bush administration policy toward the "axis of evil." It has run front-page stories on the negative economic effect of a war with Iraq and on the "setbacks" caused by "Bush hard-liners" to warmer ties with North Korea. Now the *Times* has gone further, trying to recruit Henry Kissinger to its side of the argument. In a confused front-page story, the former secretary of state was said to have made a "break" with the administration over Iraq. But Kissinger has expressed his support for preemptive action against Iraq. His "break" with the administration consisted merely of an admonition that an attack on Iraq should not be contemplated unless America is willing to do what it takes to ensure that a postwar Iraqi government is both peaceful and viable. Bush, Rumsfeld, et al. have hardly disavowed such a goal. There is, however, one respect, not mentioned by the *Times*, in which Kissinger differs from the administration. He believes that a demand for weapons inspections should be the prelude to an attack on Iraq. Vice President Cheney believes, as we do, that inspections would provide only "false comfort," since the Iraqi regime has evaded them in the past. But this is a tactical, not a strategic, difference. Kissinger has not joined the anti-war hard-liners at the *Times*, and they will simply have to find a new story. May we suggest a piece on the economic effect of Saddam's taking over the Arabian peninsula?

■ Sen. Chuck Hagel (R., France) recently trotted out the most shameless of all peacenik arguments. Referring to famous Iraq hawk Richard Perle, Hagel wondered aloud: "Maybe Mr. Perle would like to be in the first wave of those who go into Baghdad." Now, is it Hagel's position that no one should have a view on American foreign policy who isn't a member of the U.S. military? (If so, fine—we would have been in Baghdad long ago.) Or does he think that no one should advocate a position that he doesn't carry out himself? In which case, Hagel should stop merely *saying* that growing corn is a good thing and go grow it himself; stop saying that arresting criminals is a good thing and go bust some himself; quit voting for AIDS funding for Africa and go minister to the ill there himself. Or, the last, and simplest, possibility, was Hagel simply at a loss for a reasoned criticism of Perle's position, and so resorted to the ad hominem?

■ We were browsing our files recently, and came across the first editorial NR ran after Iraq invaded Kuwait twelve years ago. Among other things, it said: "The immediate American goals are the restoration of Kuwait and the defense of Saudi Arabia; but our eventual objectives must be deeper: the overthrow of Saddam and the permanent reduction of Iraqi military power. . . . Better a crushing blow now than *any* peaceful solution that leaves Saddam free in five years' time to renew his bid for supreme power in the Arab world, armed with nuclear weapons and a prestige born of outwitting the United States" (emphasis in original). You can't say we haven't been consistent.

■ Georgia primary voters have kicked out two congressmen. Redistricting threw Republican congressmen Bob Barr and John Linder into the same House district, and Linder won handily. Barr had earned a national profile for his numerous and vituperative TV appearances. His views were often correct—he was one of the first public figures to call for Bill Clinton's impeachment—but they were delivered in an abrasive fashion that often had the messenger killing the message. Also, he was a black-helicopter civil libertarian who opposed even commonsense security measures. (Outraged that Zacarias Moussaoui wasn't better surveilled by the FBI? See the ACLU and Bob Barr.) Meanwhile, Democratic representative Cynthia McKinney was ousted by primary voters, in no small part because of her conspiratorial accusations about the 9/11 attack. McKinney was a useful tool with which to embarrass Democrats, but the toxicity of her race baiting and general nuttiness make her defeat a welcome one.

■ How scary is John Ashcroft? Consider this: Our current attorney general is such a powerful right-wing zealot that he is responsible for abuses of civil liberties that took place well before he set foot in the Justice Department. At least that's the impression one might have gotten after a secret federal court dressed down the Justice Department for submitting misleading information in order to win approval for wiretaps and other surveillance measures. The *Washington Post* ran a front-page story headlined, "SECRET COURT REBUFFS ASHCROFT." The only problem was, the story contained a sentence saying that the Justice Department "discovered the misrepresentations and reported them to the [court] beginning in 2000." That, careful readers might have noted, was during the *Clinton* administration, although the *Post* never used the "C" word. The *New York Times* was a bit more honest, writing that the court opinion "documented the 'alarming number of instances' during the Clinton administration in which the FBI might have acted improperly." So which

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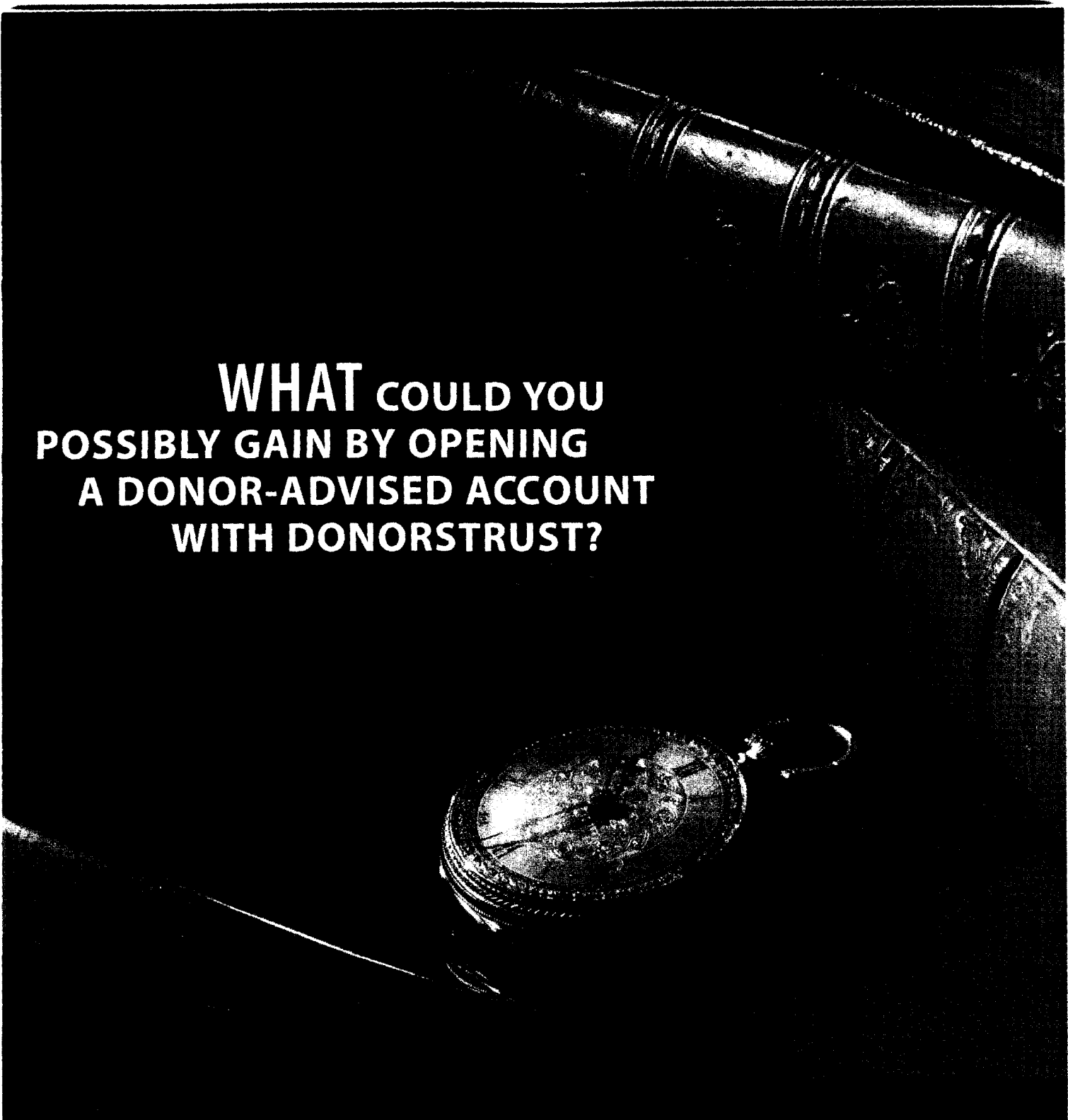

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newspaper's lead did the networks follow? Naturally. ABC's *World News Tonight* reported, "A federal court tells the Bush administration it is abusing its power in the campaign against terrorism." Well, no. But the media are abusing their power in the campaign against the Bush administration.

■ The administration undid one-fourth of the steel tariffs it imposed this spring. Steel-using industries had complained bitterly that the tariffs had made business harder, so they were lifted on 178 steel products. Now it's the steel-making companies that are complaining. *They* say the administration is breaking its word. But since most of the steel protectionism continues, trade-averse politicians in other countries can continue to cite it as evidence that we do not practice the free trade we preach and so neither should they. Perhaps all the grief the president is getting will serve as a lesson the next time he is tempted to protect a favored industry.

■ Elaine Donnelly runs the Center for Military Readiness, which is devoted to, among other things, protecting the American military from liberal culture warriors. When Donnelly published excerpts from a female combat pilot's training records indicating that she had benefited from a double standard in evaluations, those culture warriors saw a chance to strike. They filed a lawsuit. Now U.S. district judge Royce C. Lamberth has ruled in favor of Donnelly. But the litigation cost the center more than $500,000, which was surely one of the points of the lawsuit in the first place. Now, more than ever, the center needs the support of pro-military conservatives: Center for Military Readiness, P.O. Box 51600, Livonia, Mich., 48151.

■ In August, a Manhattan jury awarded $21 million to Unjoo Paek, who sustained head injuries after tripping on the four-inch stub left over from a fallen parking sign. The exorbitant award has drawn fire from Mayor Michael Bloomberg, who in May proposed tort reforms to cut back on the half-billion dollars New York pays out annually in legal settlements. "If you go to Afghanistan and get killed," Bloomberg points out, "your family gets $250,000 [the federal limit]. If you trip on a sidewalk, your pain and suffering can be many times that." Moreover, as William Tucker noted in the *New York Post*, "Claims on sidewalk injuries have increased 47 percent since 1997, without any visible increase in incidents." The State of New York is notoriously pro-plaintiff. While 42 states have caps on "pain and suffering" payments, the trial-lawyer-friendly legislature in Albany has rejected pleas for tort reform. Now that New York City has a $5 billion budget gap to close, the legislature will have to decide which is more important: placating the trial lawyers, or rebuilding the city.

■ Some countries are rich; some are poor. Rich countries are more careful with the environment, because they can afford to be; poor countries suffer pollution, deforestation, and bad water quality, because they can't fund the necessary improvements. So far, so good. The premise of the Earth Summit being held in Johannesburg goes a little further than that, though. A large part of the problem, as poor countries see it, is that rich countries don't give them enough money. Ah, but when we give you money, says the First World, we can't help but notice that much more often than not, it ends up in the Swiss bank accounts of your dictators and their cronies. (Recall Peter Bauer's definition of foreign aid: "The transfer of money from poor people in rich countries to rich people in poor countries.") Perhaps you should acquire representative government and rational economics first . . . ? Whatever else the Earth Summit produces, we can be sure that it will reject this selfish, disgraceful, and very likely racist suggestion.

■ Karol Wojtyla, better known as Pope John Paul II, made an emotional pilgrimage to his Polish homeland in what was widely viewed as the 82-year-old pontiff's valedictory tour. Between 2 and 3 million of his countrymen turned out for the Pope's August 18 outdoor Mass, in what organizers called the largest such event in the country's history. As the world acknowledges, John Paul played a commanding role in freeing his country, and in turn an entire continent, from the scourge of Communism. It is less well known that the Pope has been profoundly troubled by what he sees as Poland's turning of its hard-won liberty into licentiousness. Abortion is making headway, drug use is on the rise, and the country's relatively successful move to a market economy has exacerbated social tension between the newly rich and those left behind. The old prophet, his face frozen and his voice slurred from the effects of Parkinson's disease, denounced "the noisy

THE HOST WITH THE MOST?

Bill Clinton may get his own daytime TV talk show. Our Roman Genn envisions the scene.

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Mexican Gridlock

Stephen Haber is the Peter and Helen Bing Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution and a professor of political science and history at Stanford University.

The electoral victory of Vicente Fox in July 2000 ended the Institutional Revolutionary Party's (PRI) seven-decade monopoly of power. Fox promised dramatic increases in educational spending, tax reform, an end to government corruption and the Chiapas rebellion, an immigration agreement with the United States, and economic growth of 7 percent a year. Two years into the Fox presidency, virtually all those promises remain unfulfilled.

Fox's inability to make good on his campaign promises has not been for lack of trying. Rather, his reforms have either been scuttled or made toothless in Congress. Fox's sweeping tax reform was turned into a surtax on restaurant meals and hotel charges. His indigenous rights bill was so watered down that the Chiapas rebels rejected it. Congress even rejected Fox's request to travel to the United States in the fall of 2001, an act designed to embarrass him. Fox's only legislative victory was the passage of a Freedom of Information Act that opens up the files of Mexico's government to the citizenry.

Fox's legislative failures have surprised the Mexican public. From 1929 until 1997, when the PRI controlled the Senate, the Chamber of Deputies (Mexico's lower house), and the presidency, Congress simply rubber-stamped presidential proposals.

Now Mexico has three major parties: the conservative National Action Party (PAN); the leftist Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD); and the ideologically amorphous PRI. No party has a majority in either house of Congress. Given the differences and long-term strategies of each party, it is virtually impossible to form coalitions. The PRI wants to recapture the presidency in 2006 and thus refuses to form a coalition with the PAN (Fox's party). The PRD—ideologically opposed to the PAN—also refuses to form a coalition. Although the PRI and the PRD can form coalitions, their purpose is to block everything that Fox proposes.

This situation is unlikely to change. The two fundamental problems are that, first, Mexico's electoral laws specify that two-thirds of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies represent winner-take-all districts (the candidate with the most votes in the district wins the seat). The seats in the other third are allocated by proportional representation (parties are allocated seats based on their percentage of the total vote). In this system, voters do not "waste" votes by voting for third-party candidates: parties win seats via the proportional voting rules even if they lose in every individual district. Mexico is therefore unlikely to converge on a two-party system. Second, Mexico's electoral laws specify that senators and deputies may not run for immediate reelection, pegging their future not to their performance as representatives but to their performance as loyal members of their party (which determines whether they can be placed on the list of candidates for a proportional seat).

Thus even with congressional elections next year, it is unlikely that Fox will be able to form effective coalitions; it is therefore unlikely that he will have any more success in the next four years than he has had in the last two.

— Stephen Haber

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

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propaganda of liberalism, of freedom without truth or responsibility." Is the unwillingness of Poland, and indeed the Western world, to take John Paul's words to heart the dying pontiff's tragedy—or our own?

■ Saad Eddin Ibrahim is Egyptian-born and has American citizenship, he's 63 and suffers from a neurological condition, he's one of the Arab world's distinguished intellectuals, and he's now in prison beginning a seven-year sentence with hard labor. The Egyptian government put him before a special security court. His crime was to promote the concept of free and fair elections. In plain language, Hosni Mubarak has been the unchallenged president of Egypt for 20 years, is preparing his son to succeed him, and doesn't care for any talk of free and fair elections. He wants dollars, though. Of course, it's not possible to deal with each and every injustice in the Arab world, especially with Saddam Hussein just over the horizon—but here's one case the United States can influence. President Bush has informed Mubarak that in protest against Ibrahim's persecution Egypt will not be receiving any new aid. Jesse Jackson and Jimmy Carter and the U.N.'s Mary Robinson and the rest of the crowd who go jetting around in search of abuses of human rights might consider turning their gaze to Egypt.

■ Libya is now, after 34 years' rule by the mad dictator Muammar Qaddafi, a "mature despotism." Political prisoners are, according to every human-rights organization (and the U.S. State Department), plentiful; torture is routine, as are summary executions. Abroad, Qaddafi has been a firm friend and financier of the Mugabe regime in Zimbabwe, has supplied arms to terrorist groups like the Irish Republican Army, and is widely suspected of having been the author of the 1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, which killed 270 people. You might think that Libya would be the last country anyone would want to chair the U.N. Human Rights Commission. Not at all: The African bloc of nations at the U.N. has nominated Libya for precisely that honor. Leadership of the commission rotates regionally, you see, and next year it's Africa's turn, so they get to elect the chair. Our government has murmured a gentle protest, suggesting that the Africans may have acted before "thinking about the ramifications and reaction." Possibly so. Much more likely—Foggy Bottom can't say this, but we can—the Africans just don't see anything wrong with Qaddafi. Why should they? His approach to human rights is perfectly normal over most of that ever-darker continent.

■ In a better world, this would be a big story. Alcibiades Hidalgo was a Cuban high official, one of Castro's golden boys. He was Cuba's ambassador to the United Nations, deputy foreign minister, and chief of staff to Raúl Castro, the dictator's brother and the defense minister. At the end of July, he escaped from Cuba on a raft, which sank 40 miles from Key West. He was rescued, and has sought asylum in the U.S. You might think that people would be a teeny-weeny bit interested in what he has to say. The former U.N. ambassador *escaped on a raft?* It's the stuff of *60 Minutes*, of dramatic front-page *New York Times* stories. Where's the Movie of the Week? The media elite were apparently more interested in his words as U.N. ambassador—when he was mouthing the Castro line—than they are now, when he is free.

■ In his book on Unity Mitford, NR senior editor David Pryce-Jones tells the story of Hitler's giving Miss Mitford, who was one of the Führer's keenest admirers, a very nice apartment in Munich. Unfortunately the Jewish family who owned the place were not cleared out in time. When Miss Mitford went round to savor her acquisition, they were still there, and sat weeping in a corner while the new owner measured up the place for carpets and drapes. A similar scene was acted out recently in Zimbabwe, where white-owned farms are being appropriated by friends and relatives of the country's dictator, Robert Mugabe. Mr. Mugabe's wife took a fancy to Iron Mask farm, 30 miles from the capital. She drove over there with her entourage and ordered the owners to leave, as she would soon be moving in. The owners are a white couple, John and Eva Matthews, both in their 70s, who have spent their whole lives building up the farm. The advantages of this New Order to people like Mrs. Mugabe are rather obvious. So, alas, are the consequences for poorer Zimbabweans, millions of whom formerly relied on farms like this for employment and food.

■ Leni Riefenstahl, 100, has just released a reportedly beautiful aquatic movie entitled *Impression Under Water*. This has occasioned yet another reexamination of her pro-Nazi past, which no one doubts, though she tries to airbrush it. It should not be forgotten. Awful politics, disgusting friends. But wait a minute. Does anyone worry about the Stalinist Picasso? The Stalinist Pablo Neruda, who received a Nobel prize—and an ambassadorship from Allende? This double standard, on which we have dilated for the full 47 years of this magazine's existence, tells us much about the 20th century.

■ Muslims are mad at Franklin Graham again. Graham, son of and successor to evangelist Billy Graham, appeared on the Fox News Channel's *Hannity & Colmes* and said that Islamic religious leaders the world over haven't done enough to condemn the September 11 terrorist attacks. "If a Roman Catholic put on dynamite and walked into a mosque in Saudi Arabia, in Medina or Mecca, and said, 'In the name of Jesus Christ and the Church of Rome, I now blow you all up,' and then took his life and killed everybody around him, the Pope would be on television within hours denouncing this man and saying he does not represent the Church." Now, it must be said that Islam lacks a centralized hierarchy, and thus a spokesman on remotely the same level of authority as the Pope. And yes, some Muslim leaders have criticized the attacks as an offense against Islam (although those statements are sometimes qualified by the usual anti-Israeli and anti-American rhetoric). Nevertheless, can Mr. Graham's basic point—that too many of the world's Muslims appear to

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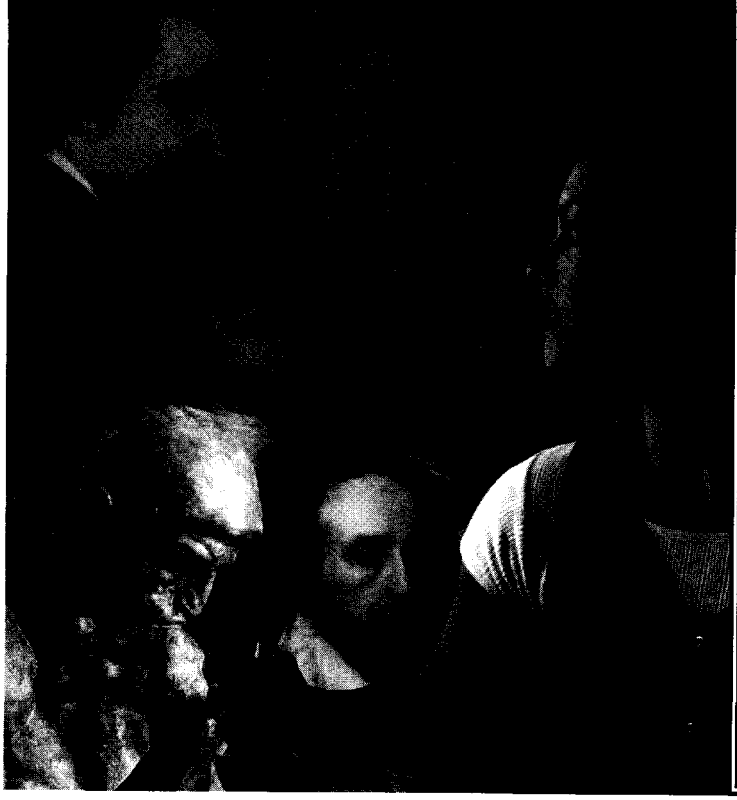

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feel that the 9/11 jihad attacks were nothing much to apologize for—seriously be disputed?

■ It is a rare occurrence when university officials do the right thing, and so we applaud Judy Genshaft, president of the University of South Florida, all the more loudly for her decision to fire Sami Al-Arian. In addition to raising money for Hamas and Islamic Jihad, the tenured computer-science professor sponsored a visa for Ramadan Abdullah Shallah and hired him to head up the Islamist World Islamic Studies Enterprise founded by Al-Arian at USF. Shallah went on to become the secretary-general of Palestinian Islamic Jihad. Video footage of Al-Arian at a rally to raise money for Islamic Jihad shows him chanting "Death to Israel" and "Death to the Jews." For his part, Al-Arian has done his best—with a little help from his friends on the left—to cast this whole episode as a right-wing witch-hunt against Muslims, a violation of his right to free speech, and a denial of academic freedom. USF is firmly within its rights, however, in discharging the professor, and not just because of his criminal activities. Even academic freedom must have limits: Those who work actively to subvert freedom and democracy have no place in the universities of a free republic.

■ Mere mortals such as Don Rumsfeld or John Ashcroft can expect to be hammered by journalists if they are caught changing their story. But our media betters maintain a different standard for themselves. CNN executives and Nic Robertson, the reporter who obtained 64 videotapes of al-Qaeda operatives running around barren landscapes in black hoods, initially fudged on whether any payment had been made for the videos. When the network later admitted to paying $30,000 for the not-terribly-interesting footage, it blamed its earlier denial on internal miscommunications. Apparently these were "internal" in the sense that Robertson miscommunicated to himself about whether he paid his source. Might CNN's cash have found its way to al-Qaeda? On behalf of the network, anchorman Aaron Brown declared that CNN thought not, and lectured his audience that "you have to trust in our good judgment and in our honesty." Would CNN accept that from the president?

Regime Change

Eagleburger's blowing cold.
Cautious Lugar's still not sold.
Scowcroft, that uncertain horn,
Makes the mess-call sound forlorn;
While in Kennebunkport, where
Things can wobble when Bush père
Hoists a moistened finger, Dad
Paces the paternal pad.

—W. H. von Dreele

■ Summer 2002 will be remembered as the summer of the kidnapped child. News coverage of kidnappings and the concomitant public hysteria have been in inverse proportion to statistics, which show that abductions by strangers have been decreasing for years. Cable news channels, in search of grist for the 24-hour-news mill, lap up the lurid stories. Families of kidnapped children remind us that the greater the news coverage, the better the chances of recovering the disappeared. Now the White House has gotten in on the panic: President Bush recently announced plans for a summit on crimes against children, and the government has released a child-safety handbook. Even the soberest minds are hesitant to criticize the over-coverage, for two reasons: the sheer horror of such crimes, and the supposition that if it were their own children, they, too, would want the story as highly publicized as possible. But public hysteria itself can be dangerous, as when excessive coverage of a plane crash prompts the anxious to drive in lieu of flying, leading to more car accidents. It shows no callousness to the victims to call for reasonable restraint in covering these crimes.

■ The *New York Times* has announced that it will from now on publish, among its Sunday wedding announcements, notices of same-sex couples who have decided to commit to a life together, and have carried out some sort of ceremony in evidence thereof. Given that the reader base of the *Times* is solidly "progressive," perhaps this should not be very surprising. Nor is it terribly deplorable in itself. (Nor original: Around 70 daily newspapers nationwide already publish such notices.) Rather, it continues the slow chipping-away at the traditional valuation of marriage as the proper foundation for child-raising, the only one sanctioned and favored by the state, society, and law. Not terribly deplorable: but still to be deplored, as one more step forward on the road that leads away from the familiar, customary, and well-tried, towards . . . what? Nobody knows.

■ It used to take a tragedy—on the order of death, divorce, or abandonment—to deprive a child of his father. With the advent of the first online sperm bank for lesbian couples, however, all you need now is £480 and a click of the mouse. Founded in June, the U.K.-based firm is called ManNotIncluded.com; its tongue-in-cheek logo features an icon of a man inside a "No Smoking"-style red circle with a slash through it. The company does some match-making, and once willing uterus has been paired with willing donor, the sperm is shipped by courier for home insemination. Probably because traditional sperm banks are wary of accepting lesbians as clients, 3,000 lesbian couples and 5,000 sperm donors had signed on within 48 hours of the site's launch. Founder John Gonzalez insists his company is providing a much-needed service. Indeed, aspiring moms can even search the site for a donor who meets their physical require-

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ments. But we can't help wondering: If the baby arrives with eyes or hair of the wrong shade, does the company accept returns?

■ The point of shock radio is, of course, to shock. In this endeavor, the shock jocks are chasing a receding target; for as our society—with their assistance, of course—gets coarser and more accustomed to having its sensibilities outraged, it becomes increasingly difficult for them to find anything sufficiently shocking to assault us with. Now two of these bold pioneers, Opie and Anthony (they seem to have no last names) of New York's WNEW-FM radio station, have opened up whole new territories of outrage by sponsoring a couple to copulate in Saint Patrick's Cathedral while worshippers observed the Feast of the Assumption. The couple was swiftly arrested, along with a WNEW employee who was using a cell phone to provide live on-air commentary. The Church will, of course, survive, having suffered much graver indignities in her long history.

■ Osama bin Laden targets have become a popular item at gun clubs around the country, which typically donate the proceeds from sales to the American Red Cross. Under the Massachusetts Gun Control Act of 1998, however, the civilian use of targets bearing human likenesses is banned at "Class A" shooting ranges, which stock large-capacity firearms. The Gun Owners' Action League, which has challenged the statute twice on First Amendment grounds, is now appealing to the Supreme Court. Acting governor Jane Swift maintains that the measure is intended "to stop target practice that arguably increases the practicer's capacity to shoot human beings"—even though the practice of shooting at tyrants' images can be traced at least to the Revolution, when American colonists perfected their marksmanship on pictures of George III. Should the ban be upheld, of course, citizens of Massachusetts will still be free to raise funds by selling flags for flag-burning or by hawking computer-generated child pornography—protected by the Court in *Texas* v. *Johnson* (1989) and *Ashcroft* v. *Free Speech Coalition* (2002), respectively.

AT WAR

Closing the Case

FOR weeks, both supporters and opponents of war with Iraq have urged that the administration "make the case" for the military action it is presumed to favor. From the opponents, the demand was mostly disingenuous: No case can be made that would win their support. But supporters reckoned that the administration was unwise to sit out the debate that it had spawned by talking about "regime change." By signaling that he was unsure of what he wanted to do, President Bush had given opponents of war—abroad, in Congress, and within his own administration—an incentive to hold out and, indeed, to lobby against a war. Public support for war with Iraq, as measured in polls, has fallen over the course of the year (although a small majority still favors it).

In late August, the administration entered the debate in a substantial way. Vice President Cheney made a speech claiming that Saddam Hussein is intent on developing deliverable weapons of mass destruction and that he might be close to achieving that goal. He echoed the president's contention that "time is not on our side." Cheney argued, against some critics, that it would be irresponsible to wait until the regime had those weapons before moving against it. It was not enough, he said, to insist on the Iraqis' compliance with weapons inspections. They had worked around such inspections before. ("We often learned more as the result of defections than from the inspection regime," Cheney noted, and Saddam tested missiles "almost literally under the noses of the U.N. inspectors.")

War against Iraq is necessary to avert grave dangers, he argued; but it would also yield great opportunities. American victory in the war would increase our standing in the region generally: "Moderates throughout the region would take heart. And our ability to advance the Israeli-Palestinian peace process would be enhanced, just as it was following the liberation of Kuwait in 1991." A liberated Iraq would undermine tyranny throughout the Arab world. Although Cheney was too politic to say it himself, the Saudis, the Egyptians, and the Jordanians would also have greater reason to fear the United States and would adjust their behavior accordingly.

Cheney makes a strong case. He will have to keep making it—and he will have to be joined by the president himself. If Bush asks for congressional support, he is likely to get it.

We should, of course, also seek the support of our European allies. The administration should make it clear that its most serious consultations will be with those countries that are willing to commit troops to the battle. If we show that we are willing to act without them, they will face the prospect of being shown—to themselves, to us, and to others—to be superfluous: unable to block American action and unnecessary for its success.

Above all, we should move quickly. "Time is not on our side" is one way of putting it; President Lincoln put it another way, when he warned General McClellan: "Your enemies will probably use *time* as advantageously as you can."

CULTURE WATCH

Lesson Plans

THE National Education Association is under fire for its advice to teachers on how to spend the anniversary of September 11. The critics say that the NEA's lesson plans are too relativistic and insufficiently patriotic. Students would hear a lot about "intolerance": the need to avoid it, America's shameful history of same. The critics would like students to learn more about America's virtues and about our enemies' deadly intolerance.

The critics both overstate and understate their indictment.

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The NEA compiled a list of lesson plans, many of them developed by others: the American Red Cross, the National Association of School Psychologists, PBS. There is not a lot of blame-America stuff in the plans. There are, indeed, links to America's founding documents. Overall, the mood is mildly adversarial toward Americans, who are assumed to be constantly on the verge of committing ethnic pogroms. But this assumption is now widespread among Americans who sincerely regard themselves as patriots. In any case, the focus of the lesson plans is less social than psychological. Students would be asked to talk a lot about feelings: their own feelings, their fellow students' feelings, and their feelings about their feelings. They would be told that it's okay to feel a variety of emotions and not to judge others. If they are in grades 6 through 12, they may be asked to perform a group exercise called "Remember to Laugh."

What the critics have uncovered, in other words, is not the NEA's lack of patriotism. It is modern liberal culture's shallowness. For that culture, September 11 cannot be understood as an historical event. History is consulted only

A Bull Market In Regulations

It's accepted wisdom in Washington that giving regulatory agencies like the SEC enormous new enforcement authority will placate fidgety investors and help reverse this year's stock-market slide. But the accepted wisdom is highly suspect, if not downright counterfactual. Indeed, a strong argument can made that the rush to re-regulate corporate America is precisely what is holding back a bullish market rebound.

Consider the research of top-flight financial-market analyst James Bianco of Arbor Research and Trading Company in Barrington, Ill. For many years, Bianco has been tracing the relationship between federal regulations and the performance of the stock market with data going back all the way to the 1930s. Bianco has discovered that "the most profound effect the government has on financial markets is through industry regulation." He has found, to be specific, that every time there's a spurt of new rules and edicts from Washington, interest rates and inflation tend to rise, and the stock market to sag.

In the 1970s, the regulatory state flourished, and stagnation and a miserable stock market were the result. In that decade, the real annual rate of return on the market was –6 percent. Conversely, in the 1980s, America deregulated in key industries such as financial services, transportation, and energy. Pages in the Federal Register fell by some 50 percent. The stock market tripled in value. And in the 1990s, the regulatory state remained relatively tame, and the market soared to even greater heights. The lesson? Rules and rallies generally don't go together.

But here's the bad news: Congress and federal agencies are on pace to make 2002 one of the biggest years for new regulation in perhaps a decade. Wall Street has taken grim notice. In fact, Bianco's research shows that it was precisely the stampede on Capitol Hill and in the White House for new securities laws after the WorldCom fiasco that caused the Dow to drop in mid July to its lowest level since 1997. "The 1,000-point sell-off early this summer was definitely Washington-inspired," Bianco insists. Only when Congress adjourned in August did the small market rebound gain any traction. (If only they could refrain from coming back!)

There is a real price to be paid in the recent urge to re-regulate in areas ranging from health care to pharmaceuticals, to telecommunications, to environmental protection, to, most recently, securities. Economist Thomas Hopkins of the Rochester Institute of Technology estimates that the cost in lost output to the economy from regulatory overdrive in 2000 alone was $843 billion, or , in lost income, $8,100 per household. Of course, there are big benefits to commonsense regulations—like clean air and water, safe working conditions, etc.—but as with everything else government does, the question is one of diminishing returns.

Washington's Rule-Making Rally

Year	Pages in the Federal Register	Enforcement Personnel
1970	20,036	69,900
1980	87,012	122,000
1990	53,620	115,000
2001	67,702	132,000

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.

Contemporary examples abound of bizarre and witless regulations that federal agencies are imposing on us. The FCC under chairman Michael Powell decided in August to mandate that all new TVs be installed with digital tuners, at an estimated cost of some $200 per set. American consumers will have to bear the cost of purchasing these tuners with their TVs whether they want them or not. Meanwhile, the EPA's absurd water-use regulations will soon do for washing machines and dishwashers what they have done for modern toilets, which have too little water pressure to flush properly.

The advent of the Reagan era and its deregulation helped launch the greatest bull-market expansion in American history. The new era of re-regulation is snuffing it out. The bull market in regulations has caused a bear market in stocks. If George W. Bush and the Republicans want a Dow Jones rebound this fall, they better put a muzzle on the regulators.

—Stephen Moore

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to the extent that it teaches us that people in previous eras have had feelings of grief and anger after disasters, too, and that these feelings have been expressed in more and less healthy ways. The history of the Middle East is not mentioned anywhere. Islam is a source of "diversity," and the only thing students need know about Muslims is that they are not all alike.

These have been the culture's lesson plans for adults as well as schoolchildren. The media will, on September 11, talk more about heroes and losses than about terrorism. Our elected leaders have discouraged any deeper engagement with Islam than the NEA recommends.

In one of the NEA's links, the school psychologists warn that "[i]ntensive, detailed coverage of the attacks, the terrorists, and/or the threat of future attacks can raise children's anxiety levels." Understanding that we have enemies that mean to do us harm can raise adults' anxiety levels, too, and should. Tolerance, diversity, and psychological well-being are all fine things if they are rightly understood. But a country needs other things to defend itself: things like courage, confidence, endurance, manliness, intelligence. Neither our school curricula nor our public culture is designed to cultivate those qualities. We need better lessons, and not from the NEA.

■ NOTES & ASIDES ■

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: The Rev. Andrew Greeley goes ballistic when one tells him the following: The archdiocese of Chicago is not a democracy.

Please comment.

Thanks,
Laurence M. Madigan
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Madigan: I don't know why Father Greeley would go ballistic over that statement. Would he go ballistic if told that the United States was not a monarchy?

As a rule, one goes "ballistic" when hearing a point of view defended over which there is heated contention. There is no contention on whether an archdiocese is "democratic." It isn't, and, *Deo volente*, will never be.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: You say the *Oxford English Dictionary* lists the word "fisher" as an equivalent of "fisherman" dating back to 893.

I think we can go back a little further. Specifically, to A.D. 31 or 32, when Christ saw two fishermen and said to them:

"Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men."

Sincerely,
Earl L. Brown
Large, Pa.

Dear Mr. Brown: Right on.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Is it possible to have a right side without a left side? In the media, apparently so. When discussing Israel, there is often reference to the "right-wing Likud party"; there is rarely, if ever, a reference to the "left-wing Labor party." Similarly, much critical ink and chatter refer to the "Christian Right," which supports efforts to crush terrorism; but the press labels the "Christian Left" in invisible ink, never being honest about those religionists who temporize, or appease supporters of terror. Perhaps this is because the so-called Religious Right actually believes in the humane teachings of Christ or Moses, while the politically correct Religious Left believes that God's word can be found only at UC Berkeley or the Quai d'Orsay.

Cordially,
Albert J. Forman
Palm City, Fla.

Dear Mr. Forman: Quite right. I remarked the anomaly in my book *Up from Liberalism* (1959).

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: In The Week section of NR's July 1 issue, the claim was made that "the teenage birthrate has fallen to its lowest level in 60 years." Would it be more accurate to use "the birthrate among teenagers"? Delivering a teenager, even by C-section, seems a bit daunting.

James L. Clark
Lexington, Ky.

Dear Mr. Clark: Not so much more accurate as more careful.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Has the word *whom* been eliminated from our language? Is there no longer a valid distinction between *who* and *whom*? What happened? When? Why? Are these acceptable?: "for who the bell tolls," "from who did you steal it?," "to who did you give it?"

If you are not in charge of this important matter, to who should I address my question?

Max C. Powell
Toledo, Ohio

Dear Mr. Powell: A society was started some years ago dedicated to the elimination of the objective form of the pronoun save after a preposition. While schoolmen would go for "the man whom you marry," thee perhaps, I certainly, would use *who* in that sentence. Addendum on the matter from *Harper's Dictionary of Contemporary Usage*: "For a long time *The New Yorker* used to run items like, '*Whom* did you say is coming?' under the standing head, 'The Omnipotent Whom.' We once mentioned to Hobart Weekes, then managing editor of the magazine, that we hadn't seen any such items in recent years. He nodded sadly and said, 'We had to give it up. We found that almost nobody knew what was wrong with them.'"

Cordially,

—WFB

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■ AT WAR ■

One Year Later

The nature and means of commemoration

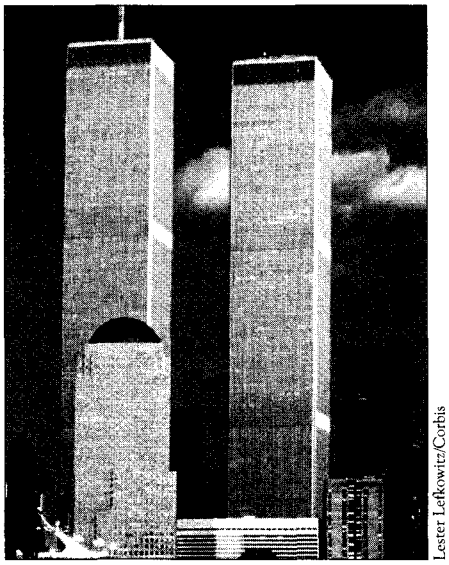
VICTOR DAVIS HANSON

SEPTEMBER 11 aroused Americans from a deep coma induced by a long and luxurious calm. On the anniversary of the attack, we should take stock of just how much the world has changed—before we decide upon the nature and means of commemoration. Almost all the assumptions about human nature that were staples of our schools and academic culture have been exploded, and we have returned, sobered, to a more tragic than therapeutic understanding of the human condition.

A half-century of American policy in the Middle East has been found wanting, as we keep 5,000 troops defending a Saudi regime that subsidizes a deadly anti-Americanism. "Allies" in Europe turn out to be merely fair-weather friends who in times of war triangulate and equivocate.

Yet amid this depressing chaos remains the startling American response to the catastrophe of 9/11—the passengers' heroics on the fourth doomed jetliner, the bravery of the New York firemen and police, the Herculean efforts to clear away in less than a year the debris from the World Trade Center site, and to repair the Pentagon. In early October, the world was talking of the Afghan winter and its warlord culture as the graveyard of foreign armies; by December, the burqas were off and the terrorist thugs in hiding or dead—with a legitimate government in their place. Thousands of Americans in full mobilization across the globe and here at home have thwarted terrorists. All that is something to reflect upon this September 11.

More formally, how can we commemorate our losses? How can we do so in a manner that expresses not merely sorrow, but our resolution that the lives and memory of the dead will not be forgotten?



Lester Lefkowitz/Corbis

As they stood

Our schools, of course, will set aside periods for thought and discussion. But we must hope that such sessions will avoid the politically correct "Why did they do this to us?" hand-wringing that will undermine the solemnity of the occasion and deflect blame from the killers to the innocent. There are 364 days in the year to instruct our children in the beauties of diversity, the mystery of the Koran, collective guilt for the sins of humanity, and pacifism. September 11 is not one of them.

Teachers need not be bellicose or chauvinistic in leading discussions on the unique culture and history of the United States, or in reminding students that those who killed our fellow Americans came from societies where there are no free citizens, no open elections, no independent courts, and no equality for women. Nor were they poor or uneducated—leaving us with the unsettling truth that evil can arise from causes other than ignorance and deprivation.

It might be wise also to reflect on the fact that a free society is not immune to the attentions of retrograde forces such as superstition, tribalism, and the like. If anything, we have learned that our affluence, hospitality, and liberality were magnets to the killers, whose hatred and sense of frustration grew in proportion to their own desires to travel, be schooled, and enjoy the West. Students should be reminded that, if we had no real armed forces—or if we had reduced our military to the levels of Europe—the Taliban would still be in power, al-Qaeda would freely be planning more destruction, and hostile regimes would be providing terrorists with havens, all without worry over American force.

There are probably already too many national holidays, but we should commemorate September 11 for what it was: the worst attack on American citizens on their home soil ever—and a turning point in our national life. The attack was worse than Pearl Harbor, not merely because of the toll of 3,000 dead, but because it struck so unexpectedly at innocent civilians in our major cities, without signs of conventional military tension. In response, on the morning of September 11, 2002, the country should stop all public activities and observe an official period of silence, the first of a yearly institutionalized hour of remembrance.

Numbers and dates carry symbolic weight, which is why battle leaders have often looked to the calendar to find historical resonance—the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month ended World War I; the 100th hour marked the close of the Gulf War. We should choose the eleventh of any of the upcoming months as the proper date to settle with Iraq, thereby reminding the world that the consequences of murder by terrorists are not confined to a few ragtag thugs, but must be borne by regimes that fund such killers and are themselves terror states.

With this in mind, the plans for rebuilding the World Trade Center site should be unveiled on the one-year anniversary of the disaster, with pro-

Mr. Hanson is the author, most recently, of *An Autumn of War*, from Anchor Books.

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mises of a completion date of, say, September 11, 2004. One hopes for a majestic and iconic building as tall as the collapsed towers, not so much out of brashness, but out of a sense of place and history. A single obelisk-shaped tower might convey the idea that the two fallen buildings are now one in our memory and emphasize that they rose and fell together. The names of the dead, together with an enormous bas-relief portraying the past World Trade Center in its last hours as firemen made their way up the stairs, could, like the Elgin Marbles, lead all around the base of the building.

■

We must remain immune to the sophistry that is the present twin of affluence.

■

The nation needs some unifying national symbol of both our loss and our will to resist. I suggest the creation of a new national cemetery in the Washington area. Arlington National Cemetery is facing serious space problems, and is a resting place for veterans. Why not a similar national memorial park for all American heroes—dedicated to the memory of the 9/11 fatalities—with a central tomb commemorating those who perished during the attack? Such a cemetery would not be confined to military personnel, but would serve as a cemetery for Americans with distinguished government service, as well as reporters and civilians who died as a result of the hatred of our national enemies.

Some of the great ideas of Western civilization have been articulated in funeral speeches—what the Greeks called *epitaphioi*, or words spoken over the dead as summations of national culture. From Pericles' Funeral Oration to Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, leaders have sought to make sense of the loss of life by reflecting upon the larger culture of which the fallen were part. What could President Bush possibly say in a few words that has been left unsaid in some 2,500 years of Western warring and sacrifice? He could remind us that we must not be blinded by the chaff of modernity—the professions of utopian internationalists, the shrill demand for absolute moral perfection, and the trust in cultural relativism and moral equivalence. We should not cower before the charges levied by enemies and friends alike of "unilateralism" and "exceptionalism," because, in fact, the promotion of freedom and equality is often lonely and exceptional—and so we must wear those intended slurs as badges of honor. Finally, the president should connect our present strivings with those of our past, explaining to Americans that the freedom we enjoy was won with the blood of our ancestors and can be protected only through occasional sacrifice on our part. To fail to do so would be to break faith with all those who died in the filth of Shiloh, Okinawa, and Korea.

In some sense, our present task is harder than that of our forefathers of the 19th and early 20th centuries, when poverty, early death, and physical ordeal were daily reminders of the fragility of the human condition. Appreciation of America's unique greatness came more easily to the families of immigrants and settlers than it does to disconnected suburbanites and office workers. The former felt lucky to wake up in a land where there was food, freedom, and security—blessings the latter take for granted.

For all of our wealth and prosperity, for all of the unfathomable military might that resides in the Pentagon, and for all of the technological know-how that provides our citizens high up in the sky at work with cell phones and instantaneous worldwide communication, we remain, alas, frail human beings. As we saw on September 11, our aspirations can be snuffed out in a second by modern incarnations of our age-old adversaries whose essence remains barbarous and cruel. The only constant, then, in our brief corporal existence is our commitment to values that transcend our materially rich but nevertheless finite lives. And if we are to pass on the civilization that we have inherited, we must remain immune to the sophistry that is the present twin of affluence. The ghastliness of September 11 must somehow provide the spark for a new burst of American faith in consensual government and freedom, both here and abroad. The dead must not have left us in vain. **NR**

■ AT WAR II ■

Do Christians Bleed?

Unreported persecution in the Muslim world

ROD DREHER

An Indonesian man with a lined, anxious face hands me a photograph from a magazine report on events in his homeland. I am looking at a photograph of the burned and decapitated corpse of a Christian man who was murdered in a Christmas Eve pogrom in his village. His killers were members of Laskar Jihad, a heavily armed Islamist terror group. "They cut off his genitals too," the Indonesian man explains. "He died at his church."

My informant, a Christian human-rights activist who refused to be identified, in order to protect his family, has photographs of Christian villages burned to the ground by Laskar Jihad. Numerous sources say the group has killed as many as 10,000 Indonesian Christians, forcibly converted thousands more, and demolished hundreds of churches. Activists say the Jakarta regime has only sporadically shown an interest in protecting the nation's Christian minority, and some accuse elements of the government and military of sympathy with the jihadists.

"I was in Indonesia when 9/11 happened, and I followed the statements of Muslim political leaders," says my informant. "They were encouraging Muslims to help Osama bin Laden. I was crying in my heart for New York, but I'm telling you, 9/11 happened once in New York, but it's happening every day to Christian villages in Indonesia."

Ann Buwalda, head of the Washington-based Jubilee Campaign USA, an international human-rights organization,

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Black Listed Cancer Treatment Could Save Your Life

Baltimore, MD— As unbelievable as it seems the key to stopping many cancers has been around for over 30 years. Yet it has been banned. Blocked. And kept out of your medicine cabinet by the very agency designed to protect your health—the FDA.

In 1966, the senior oncologist at a prominent New York Hospital rocked the medical world when he developed a serum that **"shrank cancer tumors in 45 minutes!"** 90 minutes later they were gone... Headlines hit every major paper around the world. Scientists and researchers applauded. Time and again this life saving treatment worked miracles, but the FDA ignored the research and hope he brought and shut him down.

You read that right. He was not only shut down—but also forced out of the country where others benefited from his discovery. That was 35 years ago. How many other treatments have they been allowed to hide? Just as in the case of Dr. Burton's miracle serum these too go unmentioned.

Two-Nutrient Cancer Breakthrough...

Decades ago, European research scientist Dr. Johanna Budwig, a six-time Nobel Award nominee, discovered a totally natural formula that not only protects against the development of cancer, but people all over the world who have been diagnosed with incurable cancer and sent home to die have actually benefited from her research—and now lead normal lives.

After 30 years of study, Dr. Budwig discovered that the blood of seriously ill cancer patients was deficient in certain substances and nutrients. Yet, healthy blood always contained these ingredients. It was the lack of these nutrients that allowed cancer cells to grow wild and out of control.

By simply eating a combination of two natural and delicious foods (found on page 134) not only can cancer be prevented—but in case after case it was actually healed! "Symptoms of cancer, liver dysfunction, and diabetes were completely alleviated." Remarkably, what Dr. Budwig discovered was a totally natural way for eradicating cancer.

However, when she went to publish these results so that everyone could benefit—**she was blocked by manufacturers with heavy financial stakes!** For over 10 years now her methods have proved effective—yet she is denied publication—blocked by the giants who don't want you to read her words.

What's more, the world is full of expert minds like Dr. Budwig who have pursued cancer remedies and come up with remarkable natural formulas and diets that work for hundreds and thousands of patients. *How to Fight Cancer and Win* author William Fischer has studied these methods and revealed their secrets for you—so that you or someone you love may be spared the horrors of conventional cancer treatments.

As early as 1947, Virginia Livingston, M.D., isolated a cancer-causing microbe. She noted that every cancer sample analyzed (whether human or other animal) contained it.

Six-time Nobel Nominee's Two-Nutrient Cancer Breakthrough Revealed

This microbe—a bacteria that is actually in each of us from birth to death—multiplies and promotes cancer when the immune system is weakened by disease, stress, or poor nutrition. Worst of all, the microbes secrete a special hormone protector that short-circuits our body's immune system—allowing the microbes to grow undetected for years. No wonder so many patients are riddled with cancer by the time it is detected. But there is hope even for them...

Turn to page 82 of *How to Fight Cancer and Win* for the delicious diet that can help stop the formation of cancer cells and shrink tumors.

They walked away from traditional cancer treatments...and were healed! Throughout the pages of *How to Fight Cancer and Win* you'll meet real people who were diagnosed with cancer—suffered through harsh conventional treatments—turned their backs on so called modern medicine—only to be miraculously healed by natural means! Here is just a sampling of what others have to say about the book.

"I bought *How to Fight Cancer and Win* and this has to be the greatest book I've ever read. I have had astounding results from the easy to understand knowledge found in this book. My whole life has improved drastically and I have done so much for many others. The information goes far beyond the health thinking of today."

—Hugh M.

"I can't find adequate words to describe my appreciation of your work in providing *How to Fight Cancer and Win*. You had to do an enormous amount of research to bring this vast and most important knowledge to your readers.

My doctor found two tumors on my prostate with a high P.S.A. He scheduled a time to surgically remove the prostate, but I canceled the appointment. Instead I went on the diet discussed in the book combined with another supplement. Over the months my P.S.A. has lowered until the last reading was one point two."

—Duncan M.

"In my 55 years as a Country Family Physician, I have never read a more 'down to earth,' practical resume of cancer prevention and treatments, than in this book. It needs to be studied worldwide for the prevention of cancer by all researchers who are looking for a cure."

—Edward S.,MD

"As a cancer patient who has been battling lymphatic cancer on and off for almost three years now, I was very pleased to stumble across *How to fight Cancer and Win*. The book was inspiring, well-written and packed with useful information for any cancer patient looking to maximize his or her chances for recovery." *—Romany S.*

"I've been incorporating Dr. Budgwig's natural remedy into my diet and have told others about it. Your book is very informative and has information I've never heard about before (and I've read many books on the cancer and nutrition link). Thanks for the wonderful information." *—Molly G.*

Don't waste another minute. Claim your book today and you will be one of the lucky few who no longer have to wait for cures that get pushed "underground" by big business and money hungry giants.

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says that between 50,000 and 60,000 Christians are now concentrated in the Tentena region, disarmed and surrounded by Laskar Jihad encampments. The besieged Christian community spent August awaiting a jihad assault rumored to be coming any day. Says Buwalda, "In the event that the government continues to do nothing against Laskar Jihad, these Christians will be slaughtered."

Indonesian Christians are not alone in suffering under this barbarism. Minority Christian populations throughout the Islamic world endure persecution in varying degrees. From southeast Asia through Arab lands and into northern Africa, Christians and believers in other minority religions live with degradation, discrimination, and worse.

By consensus, Sudan continues to be the worst of a bad lot. The Arab Islamic government in the north continues its genocidal war upon the black Christians and animists in the south. Freedom House, the venerable human-rights organization, estimates that in the past 17 years, two million Christians and animists have been slaughtered by the Islamist regime, with over twice that number turned into refugees. Churches continue to be bombed, women and children raped, and non-Muslims kidnapped and forced into slavery.

Nigeria has been in the news lately because an Islamic court in the country's north sentenced to death by stoning a woman who gave birth out of wedlock; she will be executed when she weans her baby, the jurists decided. Pakistan, which has been home to a small Christian population for almost as long as there have been Christians, has been the site of grisly anti-Christian pogroms. In Saudi Arabia, foreigners are deported for practicing Christianity, and Saudi Christians, if caught, are beheaded.

Even Egypt treats its Coptic Christian minority as second-class citizens, and is rather less than vigilant about protecting them from attack by Islamic extremists. The Copts dare not complain, figuring they're better off living under the regime of president-for-life Hosni Mubarak than under the extremist Muslim Brotherhood. It's a humiliating choice, but it guarantees their survival, for now.

Paul Marshall, senior fellow at Freedom House's Center for Religious Freedom, says violent Islamic persecution of Christians is a relatively recent phenomenon. He blames it on the rise of extremist Islam of the sort bankrolled by the Saudis, which gained a foothold in many of these countries as European colonizers withdrew. "Another factor is that the previous secular gods—socialism and Arab nationalism—have failed," says Marshall, author of the forthcoming *Islam at the Crossroads*. "If you don't like the spread of Western cultural commodities around the world, where do you turn? To Islam. The movement we're looking at is the move for the restoration of a radical Islamic caliphate."

■

Even Egypt treats its Christians as second-class citizens, and is less than vigilant about protecting them from attack.

■

But Bat Ye'or, the preeminent scholar of dhimmitude—the condition of second-class status with which Jews and Christians have historically had to live under Islamic rule—insists that persecution is the *normal state* of relations between the *dhimmis* and their Muslim rulers. In effect, European conquerors suspended history in those lands when they abolished Islamic shari'a law and the dhimmitude it mandated, and imposed Western concepts of equality under the law. "Dhimmitude was a dehumanizing system, bordering on slavery," Ye'or says. "After decolonization, dhimmitude for Christians and other non-Muslims is coming back with the return of shari'a rule. It is a repetition of the past, because it follows the traditional pattern of Islamic history and jurisdiction."

In her new book, *Islam and Dhimmitude: Where Civilizations Collide*, Ye'or details how European governments have a history of selling out Christian and Jewish populations in the Muslim world in order to curry favor with Islamic regimes. Says Ye'or, "Their priority was a policy of appeasement with the Muslim world, for political and economic interests. They abandoned the Christians, hoping they would integrate in Muslim majorities."

This continues even today. To cite but one example from Ye'or's book, in 1999, U.N. delegations from France, Italy, and Spain refused to stand in the way of an alliance of Islamic states seeking to remove the non-governmental-organization status of Christian Solidarity International, a relief group devoted to helping the enslaved Christians of Sudan. CSI's John Eibner, who has personally undertaken a number of death-defying missions to Sudan to rescue slaves, blamed Europe's desperation to appease Muslim governments. Says a frustrated Ann Buwalda, "I was in Brussels in April, trying to wake up the European Parliament to the fact that 10,000 Christians have been killed in Maluku [Indonesia], but all they wanted to talk about was the Jenin refugee camp, where Israel was supposed to have massacred all these Palestinians—it was a lie anyway. I think because this situation involves Christians, it's not popular."

Indeed, Freedom House's Marshall has a list of recent examples of Western media coverage in which massacres and torture of Christians at the hands of Muslims are downplayed, if reported at all. Says Marshall, "There's still an image among many in the media of Christians as white male Westerners. It doesn't compute that Christians would be victims."

This is not a new story, but it has taken on a new salience since September 11 brought jihad to America in spectacular fashion. Marshall says the war on terror can help those Christians remaining under the Muslim yoke if the U.S. and its allies decisively defeat Islamic extremism and encourage moderate Muslims to take power. While Ye'or disputes the degree to which moderate Islam—meaning an Islam that doesn't seek to subjugate non-Muslims—can be said to exist, she agrees with Marshall's view that there do exist tolerant Muslims who won't speak publicly against jihad out of real fear of losing their lives. "Under a

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82	9.4%
84	10.1%
86	10.8%
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SAMPLE TWO-LIFE RATES

AGES		RATE
YOUNGER	OLDER	
55	60	5.8%
60	65	6.2%
65	70	6.4%
67	72	6.5%
69	74	6.7%
71	76	6.8%
73	78	7.0%
75	80	7.3%
77	82	7.5%
79	84	7.9%
81	86	8.3%
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regime of terror and a culture of hate, people are afraid for themselves, their children, and their beloved," she says. "The situation exists in Europe as well. People do not feel safe and are afraid to speak. It is the free world which must speak up, but the free world remains mute."

Meanwhile, people like Buwalda have the unenviable task of traveling to these countries to bear witness to the martyrdom, which so many Christians in America and Europe prefer not to see.

"You try going over there and facing these Christians, like I did recently in Indonesia, and answering them when they ask, 'You're supposed to be our brother Christians, why aren't you doing anything? Why are you letting them kill us?'" says Buwalda. "You can see how angry and upset they are, and they're right to be. They say they just hope September 11 wakes us up to what they have to live with every day." **NR**

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■ AT WAR III ■

It's a War, Stupid

Understanding and misunderstanding the detainees

KATE O'BEIRNE

EVEN as the terrorist attacks were taking place last September 11, President Bush made use of the extraordinary authority he has to protect Americans from enemy action. Had the heroes of United Flight 93 not prevented their hijacked plane from reaching Washington, F-16s—deployed by President Bush—would have shot down the plane full of American citizens. There is no question that this first defensive action taken by the president in the war on terrorism was a lawful exercise of his executive powers. Yet editorial writers and legal analysts who were untroubled by the president's awesome authority to sacrifice some American lives to safeguard others now argue that his equally well-established authority to detain enemy combatants in military custody poses a monumental threat to our liberties.

The detention of Yaser Hamdi in a Navy brig in Norfolk, Va., has prompted hysterical commentary. The *Rocky Mountain News* declared, "The Bush Administration is making a breathtaking assertion of its right to imprison an American citizen indefinitely, without access to a court or a lawyer, simply by designating the citizen an 'enemy combatant.'" Because this "breathtaking assertion" is accurate as a matter of law, such editorial outrage is usually accompanied by either citations to inapplicable legal authority or no mention of any controlling law at all. The critics are confusing the procedural safeguards that apply to criminal detention with the wartime precedents that govern military custody of enemy combatants—and their propaganda risks damaging the president's ability to protect American lives.

Federal district judge Robert G. Doumar, who is presiding over *Hamdi* v. *Rumsfeld*, shares this confusion. Hamdi, armed with a Kalashnikov rifle, was captured in Afghanistan late last year when his Taliban unit surrendered to Northern Alliance forces. He told interrogators that he was a Saudi citizen, born in the U.S., who had come to Afghanistan the previous summer to train and fight with the Taliban. Hamdi was sent to Guantanamo Bay with other detainees, and later transferred to Norfolk when it was confirmed that he was born in Louisiana, where he lived with his Saudi parents until they returned to the Kingdom when he was three years old.

Although critics hammer John Ashcroft over the detention of Hamdi, the Taliban fighter is actually in defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld's custody—based on Hamdi's classification as an unlawful enemy combatant. Clearly, lawful combatants held as POWs under the Geneva Convention can be held until the end of hostilities without the right to legal representation to challenge their detention. Such detainees face no criminal charges, and their detention is not punitive. They are imprisoned in order to prevent them from serving with the enemy's forces, and to permit our military to gather as much intelligence as possible from them. Once a lawyer counsels his client to remain silent, a crucial opportunity to glean intelligence is lost.

Citizens and non-citizens alike can be classified as enemy combatants. Gaetano Territo, an American citizen, was captured fighting with the enemy in Italy during World War II. The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that his citizenship had no bearing on his lawful detention, which had lasted three years by the time of the court's decision.

Unlike the non-citizen combatants held at Guantanamo, Yaser Hamdi does have the right to have his habeas corpus petition considered. His supporters are arguing that his transfer to Norfolk should have been accompanied by the services of a Johnnie Cochran to defend his rights. Twice, Judge Doumar has issued unprecedented orders that this captured enemy combatant have private, unmonitored access to a lawyer, and twice the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals has stayed his orders. The appeals court declared: "It has long been established that if Hamdi is indeed an 'enemy combatant' who was captured during hostili-

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ties in Afghanistan, the government's present detention of him is a lawful one." The court thus upheld what the St. *Louis Post-Dispatch* called the administration's "extraordinary claim." (The confused editorial allowed that Hamdi "is clearly an enemy combatant," but mistakenly cited the Sixth Amendment's right to counsel "in all criminal proceedings" as applicable to military detention.)

The appeals court laid out the appropriate standard of review for the lower court in determining whether Hamdi was properly classified as an enemy combatant. The Fourth Circuit cited the Supreme Court's decision in the case of eight captured Nazi saboteurs, including at least two naturalized U.S. citizens, who traveled by submarine to Florida and Long Island, intending to attack military production facilities: "In World War II, the Court stated in no uncertain terms that the President's wartime detention decisions are to be accorded great deference from the courts." In contrast to today's editorial opinions, which obsess over the alleged rights of enemy agents, editorialists 50 years ago directed their outrage at courts that intervened inappropriately in military affairs. When the Supreme Court decided to review the hasty, secret military trial of the Nazi saboteurs, the *Detroit Free Press* reacted angrily: "Realism calls for a stone wall and a firing squad, not a lot of holier-than-thou eyewash about extending the protection of civil rights to a group that came among us to blast, burn, and kill."

Yaser Hamdi by Roman Genn

Despite the higher court's determination that Judge Doumar was obliged to accord "great deference" to the Defense Department's classification of Hamdi as an enemy combatant, Doumar remains curious about all of the circumstances surrounding Hamdi's capture. He has continued to refuse to find the two-page declaration giving a factual account of Hamdi's surrender and admissions filed on behalf of Secretary Rumsfeld sufficient to establish a proper classification. Doumar's desire to second-guess the military determination that an armed individual captured with enemy forces in a foreign land is an enemy combatant invites the "special hazards of judicial involvement in military decision-making" that the higher court warned him against.

Critics argue that the administration's insistence that courts butt out of such military determinations threatens the separation of powers. But allowing a federal judge to substitute his own military expertise for that of the Defense Department would do grave danger to the shared responsibility for military affairs that—as the Fourth Circuit pointed out in the *Hamdi* case—"Articles I and II prominently assign to Congress and the President." Given the lethal threat posed by

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terrorists in our midst, Americans should be reassured that during wartime the branches of government charged with waging war and protecting American lives take precedence over a judicial branch populated by lawyers dedicated to the proposition that it is better for 99 guilty individuals to go free than for one innocent to be improperly detained.

Despite the thoroughly settled constitutional order governing military affairs, the normally sensible constitutional-law professor Jonathan Turley recently alleged—inaccurately—that Attorney General Ashcroft has an "announced desire for camps for U.S. citizens he deems to be 'enemy combatants.'" Tellingly, even this law professor doesn't cite a single legal authority for his objection to the detention of Yaser Hamdi. Turley notes the different treatment accorded John Walker Lindh, who was given a lawyer and trial; but the fact that the administration elected not to charge Hamdi criminally doesn't render his military detention unlawful.

The administration is also being harshly criticized for the military detention of Abdullah al-Muhajir, a.k.a. Jose Padilla, the Chicago native who trained with al-Qaeda and took part in discussions about plans to detonate a dirty bomb. The *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* thought the administration should be embarrassed to be taking such precautions with a "small fish" such as al-Muhajir. But should "small fish" Hani Hanjour also have been unworthy of caution on the part of authorities? Hanjour, a barely five-foot-tall, shy, pious-seeming Saudi who had no known affiliation with any Islamic extremists, trained at various American flight schools over a five-year period. Although he got his commercial pilot's license in 1999, his flying skills were so poor that in August 2001 a Maryland flight school refused to rent him a plane. A month later he flew American Flight 77 into the Pentagon.

Terrorist masterminds aren't being dispatched to kill Americans. The likes of Abdullah al-Muhajir and Yaser Hamdi are the kind of detainees the government must hope will reveal information that will prevent future attacks and lead to the capture of fellow foot soldiers. It is the president's responsibility to do everything in his power to defend American lives, and that authority includes detaining enemy agents. Our lives depend on it. **NR**

■ **PUBLIC POLICY** ■

The Muslim Wave

Dealing with immigration from the Middle East

STEVEN A. CAMAROTA

WHEN most people think of immigrants today, they think chiefly of those from Latin America or East Asia. But while most immigrants still come from those regions, an increasing number are coming from a less traditional source: the Middle East. The number of Middle Eastern immigrants in the U.S. has grown nearly eightfold from 1970 to 2000, and is expected to double again by 2010. This growth could have significant repercussions for our homeland security—and our support for Israel.

The Center for Immigration Studies has just issued a study of this group of immigrants, based on new Census Bureau data. (We defined the Middle East broadly, as running roughly from Morocco to Pakistan.) While the overall size of the foreign-born population has tripled since 1970 and now stands at 31 million, the number of immigrants from the Middle East has grown more than twice as fast—from fewer than 200,000 in 1970 to nearly 1.5 million in 2000. Of this population roughly 10 percent, or about 150,000, are illegal aliens (based on INS estimates).

The new Middle Eastern immigration is not just more numerous than the old, but also very different in religion. While the Mideast itself is overwhelmingly Muslim, historically this has not been true of the region's immigrants to the U.S. Up until the 1960s, Middle Eastern immigrants were mostly Christian Arabs from Lebanon, or Armenians, Assyrians, Greeks, and other Christian minorities fleeing predominantly Muslim countries. In 1970, roughly 15 percent of Middle Eastern immigrants were Muslim; by 2000, almost 73 percent were.

Muslim immigrants and their progeny now number some 2 million. Add in today's perhaps 1 million American converts to Islam—mostly blacks—and you have a total Muslim population of about 3 million. The estimates put out by Muslim advocacy groups of 6 or even 12 million Muslims are almost certainly too high, but it is important to note that—absent a change in U.S. immigration policy—they almost certainly will become true.

We know that interest in emigrating to the U.S. remains very strong in the Middle East. Even after the terror attacks, the State Department in October 2001 received some 1.5 million entries from the region for the visa lottery, which awards 50,000 green cards worldwide to those who win a random drawing. Assuming no change in immigration policy, we project that in just the next decade 1.1 million new immigrants (legal and illegal) from the Middle East will settle in the U.S. Looking forward a little further, within less than 20 years the number of Muslim immigrants and their progeny will grow to perhaps 6 million.

What does this immigration mean for the U.S.? To begin with, immigrants from the Middle East are one of the most highly educated groups in America, with almost half having a bachelor's degree, compared with 28 percent of natives; these education levels should make it easier for them to assimilate. Their average income is higher than that of natives. Another positive sign is their high rates of citizenship: Half are U.S. citizens, compared with 38 percent of immigrants overall. One would think that radicalism would have relatively little appeal for this group, but there are troubling indicators as well. In 2000, nearly one in five Middle Eastern immigrants lived in poverty, compared with about one in ten natives, and 23 percent used at least one major welfare program, compared with only 15 percent of natives. Immigration from the Middle East is no longer an entirely elite phenomenon.

Opinion polls indicate that Middle Eastern immigrants are highly dissatisfied with U.S. policy toward the Arab–Israeli

Mr. Camarota is director of research at the Center for Immigration Studies in Washington, D.C., and author of "Immigrants from the Middle East: A Profile of the Foreign-born Population from Pakistan to Morocco."

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conflict and wish to see a tilt away from support for Israel. Given this, continued Mideast immigration appears likely to lead to changes in U.S. policy, as elected officials respond to Muslim Americans' growing electoral importance. Their increasing political influence was evident earlier this year when three Democratic House members from Michigan, whose districts contain fast-growing Arab immigrant communities, were among only 21 members voting against a resolution expressing solidarity with Israel against terrorism.

On the domestic level, there are three general areas of concern about this influx into the U.S. First, large-scale Mideast immigration is a cause of overworked American consulates overseas. The State Department, by its own admission, is completely overwhelmed by the numbers. In such an environment, it is much more likely that the wrong person will get a visa. Less immigration, of course, would mean that each applicant could be more carefully scrutinized.

Second, a large Middle Eastern immigrant population makes it easier for Islamic extremists to operate within the U.S. The September 11 hijackers used Middle Eastern immigrant communities for cover. The *Washington Post* has reported that two 9/11 hijackers who lived in San Diego got help from "mosques and established members of [the city's] Islamic community" to "find housing, open a bank account, obtain car insurance—even, at one point, get a job." The *New York Times* has observed that one of the many reasons Islamic terrorists prefer Germany as a base is that it's easier to "blend into a society with a large Muslim population."

■

A large Middle Eastern immigrant population makes it easier for militants to operate within the U.S.

■

Third, and perhaps most important, cultural adaptation poses a special problem for Middle Eastern Muslim immigrants. There has been and continues to be a debate within Islam about whether someone can be a good Muslim while living in the land of unbelievers. There is also a debate among Muslims about whether a good Muslim can give his political allegiance to a secular government, such as ours, that is composed of non-Muslims. Many Muslims can and do become loyal Americans; they have served with distinction in the U.S. military. But for some share of Muslims, coming to identify fully with America will be difficult.

And this problem could become more pronounced over time. To date, the way Middle Eastern immigrants have navigated life in the U.S. reflects the group's relatively small size. A modestly sized group has to accommodate itself to American society, because there is not the critical mass necessary in most cities to support institutions that preserve group customs and identity—such as ethnic-based media outlets, schools, or political and social organizations. But this dynamic is changing as the group grows very rapidly as a result of immigration.

The settlement of 1 million new Mideast immigrants by 2010 will overwhelmingly be the result of legal immigration—but levels of legal immigration can be changed by statute. For example, recently proposed legislation to eliminate the visa lottery would reduce Middle Eastern immigration, because many Mideast immigrants have been using this process to obtain their green cards. Alternatively, an amnesty for illegal aliens would increase Mideast immigration, by creating more legal immigrants who could then sponsor their relatives.

Some conservatives have suggested doing away altogether with immigration from the region, at least until the war on terrorism is over. But such proposals are not really worth debating: Even after September 11, not a single member of Congress proposed cutting off Middle Eastern immigration. Congress would never single out one region of the world for exclusion from green cards. Consider Iraq: Although the U.S. was engaged in open hostilities with that country throughout the 1990s, census data show that 68,000 Iraqi immigrants were allowed into the U.S. during that decade. Moreover, all the countries on the State Department's list of sponsors of terrorism are eligible to send immigrants to the U.S. and have in fact sent hundreds of thousands of legal immigrants here over the last ten years. Congress has never questioned the wisdom of permitting this immigration.

We could, of course, scrutinize visa applicants from some countries with greater care than we take in examining those from, say, Switzerland; it is even possible that Congress would curtail temporary visas in the wake of another attack. But it is politically inconceivable, in our equality-obsessed society, that we would ever return to the days prior to 1965 in which some regions of the world were allotted fewer green cards than others.

Reducing legal immigration from the Mideast is a sensible policy, but the only way this could ever happen would be the enactment of an immigration cap that would apply across the board—to all immigrants, wherever they might hail from. The same holds for efforts to deal with illegal immigration: Given limited resources, in a time of war, it makes sense—over the short term—to pursue with special vigor those immigration-law violators who are Middle Easterners. But over the long term, such a policy would be unfair and politically unsustainable. Reducing the *overall* immigration level is the wisest plan, for the decades to come. **NR**

The Right Reaction
NATIONAL REVIEW

"I'm not a political conservative, but one of my favorite publications is William F. Buckley's National Review."

—Liz Smith, from her syndicated column

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■ **PUBLIC POLICY II** ■

Bad List

A suspect roll of Death Row 'innocents'

RAMESH PONNURU

A TERRIBLE injustice was done to Ray Krone. In 1992, he was sentenced to death for the murder of Kim Ancona, a Phoenix cocktail waitress. He spent three years on Death Row before his first conviction was overturned. On retrial, he was sentenced to life in prison. All the while, he maintained that he was innocent. Eventually, DNA analysis proved that he was telling the truth: Another man had committed the crime. In April of this year, Krone was freed.

In Washington, D.C., Sen. Russ Feingold marked the occasion. Krone, the Wisconsin Democrat said, was "the hundredth person to be released from Death Row in the modern death-penalty era"—since, that is, the Supreme Court allowed the practice to resume in 1976. "How many innocent Americans today sit in their prison cells wrongly accused, counting down the days until there are no more?" Feingold asked. "There have now been 100 exonerations and 766 executions since the early 1970s. In other words, for every seven to eight Death Row inmates executed by the states or federal government, one has been found innocent and released from Death Row. . . . One risk, one error, one mistake, is one too many. But 100 mistakes, proven mistakes, qualifies as a crisis. And a crisis calls for action." Feingold wants a national moratorium on the death penalty. Failing that, he favors his colleague Patrick Leahy's Innocence Protection Act, which backers say would improve the administration of the death penalty.

Krone's case is certainly disturbing. But have there really been 100 such "proven mistakes," as Feingold put it, in the last quarter century? The senator, like the many others who make this claim, relies on the "Innocence List" compiled by the Death Penalty Information Center, a group that opposes capital punishment. According to its list, the total number of people who spent time on Death Row but were later exonerated is now up to 102.

But most of the cases on the list are very different from that of Ray Krone. Nobody is going to make a TV movie anytime soon about Jonathan Treadaway, another of DPIC's "Cases of Innocence." Treadaway was convicted in 1975 for sodomizing and murdering a six-year-old boy. His palm prints were found outside the victim's bedroom window, and he said that he could not explain their presence. Pubic hairs on the victim's body were similar to his.

But the Arizona supreme court reversed his conviction. The trial court had admitted evidence that Treadaway had committed sexual acts with a 13-year-old boy three years before the murder. The court held that to be irrelevant without "expert medical testimony" that this act demonstrated a continuing propensity to commit such acts. The court also ordered that at Treadaway's retrial, his statements about the palm prints not be admitted. Treadaway had made those statements voluntarily, but without being advised of his Miranda rights or waiving those rights. Finally, the court excluded some evidence that three months before the murder, Treadaway had been found naked in a young boy's bedroom trying to strangle the boy.

■

Most of the cases on the 'Innocence List' are very different from that of Ray Krone.

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Treadaway didn't get off Death Row because it was proven that the cops had the wrong man. Technicalities spared him.

Jeremy Sheets, another of DPIC's "innocents," got off Death Row

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because the key witness against him couldn't testify. That was his best friend, Adam Barnett, who told the police that the two of them—both white men—had been angry about all the white women they knew who were dating black men. To get even, they kidnapped and raped a black high-school student. Barnett said that Sheets had then stabbed her to death. Barnett committed suicide in jail. Sheets was sentenced to death on the basis of Barnett's taped confession (and Sheets's own testimony, which the jury found unbelievable). The Nebraska supreme court reversed his conviction because Sheets's lawyer had not been able to cross-examine the dead Barnett. Sheets walked.

The lead police investigator in the case called the result a "travesty," but it was probably the right legal call. What it wasn't was an "exoneration" of Sheets.

John Henry Knapp confessed to the arson-murder of his children and then recanted the confession. He was tried three times. Twice juries hung 7–5 for conviction; in between, he was found guilty and sentenced to death. Eventually the case was settled with a plea bargain. He's on the "Innocence List," too.

In twelve of the cases on DPIC's list, DNA evidence indicates that the men on Death Row should never have been put there. In another 20 or so, there is other evidence to the same effect. In around 32 cases, then, it has been proven that men on Death Row were innocent of the crime charged. (That's out of more than 7,000 people on Death Row in the modern era.)

No such thing has been proved in the other cases. In some of them, the details are sketchy. Some death sentences were reversed in unpublished opinions. Some cases had to be abandoned because evidence deteriorated with the passage of time. In other cases, people who had participated in murders were removed from Death Row because it was not known whether they had actually pulled the trigger or struck the fatal blow themselves. They were hardly "innocent." There are at least as many Treadaways as Krones on the list. All of them are treated by DPIC, equivalently, as "innocent" and "exonerated."

Richard Dieter, executive director of DPIC, says that former Death Row inmates deserve a presumption of innocence when the charges against them are dismissed. They are indeed entitled to a legal presumption of innocence (in general: John Henry Knapp isn't). But the list leads people to think that innocence has been proven when the most that can be said is that the legal system cannot establish guilt beyond a reasonable doubt. Most of the people who refer to the list clearly have no idea that many of the "innocents" on it are probably guilty.

There's another problem with the "Innocence List." It's meant to be a critique of the death penalty as it's applied today. But the list includes death sentences that were imposed before today's system emerged. Some on the list got off Death Row because the Supreme Court invalidated the death-penalty statute under which they had been sentenced.

■

In most of the 32 cases in which the wrong man faced execution, it wasn't the result of defense lawyers' mistakes.

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The list is nonetheless widely cited as evidence that the risk of executing the innocent is high. Sen. Leahy wrote earlier this year that "nearly 100 innocent people have been released from Death Row since 1973." The *New York Times*, the ACLU, and George Will have relied on DPIC's list. It has even been cited, indirectly, at the Supreme Court: The *Los Angeles Times* did a story on Krone as the hundredth exonerated Death Row inmate, and Justice Stephen Breyer referred to the story in his opinion in a death-penalty case.

Another piece of misinformation is widespread in the death-penalty debate: the claim, from a study led by Columbia University professor James Liebman, that death-penalty cases have a "68 percent error rate." It turns out that the study counts it as an "error" any time a death sentence is reversed at any stage of appellate review—even if the sentence is ultimately upheld. California was found to have an 87 percent "error rate," but half of it could be accounted for by the fact that for several years the chief justice of the state's supreme court was an opponent of the death penalty who kept issuing reversals. In most of the cases in the study, moreover, it was the death sentence that was (sometimes temporarily) overturned, not the murder convictions.

The "over 100" and "68 percent" figures are being used to persuade people that the death penalty is being badly administered and needs to be reformed, if not abolished. The leading reform on offer is Leahy's Innocence Protection Act. In yet another distortion, media coverage of Leahy's bill mostly concerns its provisions to make it easier for Death Row inmates to obtain DNA tests that might prove their innocence. But there isn't much controversy about DNA testing. Most states that have capital punishment have been increasing their use of it. "If Leahy's bill were only about DNA, it would have passed three years ago," says one Senate Republican aide.

The sticking point in the debate is that Leahy's bill would force states to reconfigure their systems for providing Death Row inmates with lawyers. Either states would have to comply with onerous federal mandates, or private organizations that represent such inmates would be given federal money. Opponents of the bill assume that the mandates were designed to be so onerous that states would go for Option Two: taxpayer funding of anti-death-penalty activists.

People facing execution ought to have competent counsel. But there's no crisis calling out for a federal takeover of the area. In most of the 32 cases in which the wrong man faced execution, it wasn't the result of defense lawyers' mistakes. It was the result of gross misconduct by prosecutors and police, or of overreliance on the testimony of jailhouse snitches. Funding 50 miniature versions of the Death Penalty Information Center won't solve those problems. It may, however, lead to some people's release from Death Row—whether or not they're guilty—so that they can be added to the list. **NR**

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■ ENVIRONMENTALISM ■

Greeniacs in Jo-burg

The U.N.'s latest 'earth summit'

JERRY TAYLOR

"A GREAT tragedy is fast unfolding," intones Gus Speth, dean of the Yale School of Forestry and one of the most respected figures in American environmentalism. "More than 20 years ago the alarm was sounded regarding threats to the global environment, but the environmental deterioration that stirred the international community then continues essentially unabated today." Population growth, affluence, and technology, Speth warns, are pushing us toward "a swift and appalling deterioration of the natural world. Only a response that in historical terms would be seen as revolutionary is likely to avert these changes."

As we prepare for the latest U.N. environmental carnival—the "World Summit on Sustainable Development," to be held in Johannesburg over our Labor Day weekend—despair is indeed warranted. No, not despair over the state of the planet. Despair over the state of the world's intellectual elite.

"Sustainable development" is widely defined as "that which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." It's essentially a call to maximize human welfare over time, although people seldom think of it this way. That's what economics is all about: Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* could fairly be called the world's first blueprint for sustainable development. Sustainable development, that is to say, is in the eye of the beholder.

There are some, of course, who would urge us to avoid any deterioration of the natural resource base. But the wealth created by exploiting resources is often more beneficial than the wealth preserved by "banking" those resources for future use. Is the world really a poorer place because past generations drew down stocks of oil, iron, and various other minerals and metals to make advanced satellites, modern industry, and—through the wealth created thereby—advanced medicines and hundreds of other life-enhancing technologies?

Other environmentalists allow that we must use some resources, but call for us to leave them above a minimum critical level and to pass down the wealth generated by resource use to future generations, who would otherwise be "robbed" of their rightful inheritance.

But consider: If the only way we could have preserved the American bison beyond a "minimum critical level" was by leaving the Great Plains largely untouched by agriculture, would the sacrifice of what was to become the world's most productive cropland been in either the economic or the social interest of future generations? Issued without due consideration of both costs and benefits, the admonition is anti-human.

Moreover, the claim that the proceeds of resource use must be preserved for future generations is redundant at best. Since all wealth is eventually inherited, there is simply no need for a special, state-supervised "account" to be established for the benefit of those to come.

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Despair over the state of the world's intellectual elite.

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Indeed, the radical improvements in standard of living, life expectancy, and resource availability attained by each succeeding generation since the Industrial Revolution show that we don't need the Greens to watch over our children. You can look it up: Agricultural production continues to outpace population growth. Global forests are on net expanding, not contracting. Resources of almost all kinds—petroleum, natural gas, minerals, and foodstuffs—are becoming more abundant no matter how one chooses to measure them. Air and water quality in the most advanced

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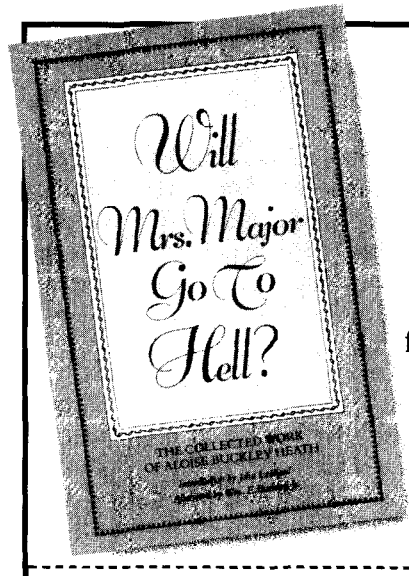

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industrial nations is improving at a truly jaw-dropping pace, while improvements in even the poorest of the world's nations are demonstrably tied to levels of per capita income. The number of species living on the planet today is far greater than at any other period in the Earth's history. In a pinch, desalinization plants will ensure that we never run out of fresh water. And life expectancy continues to increase, proving at the most obvious level that the human environment is on a sustainable path.

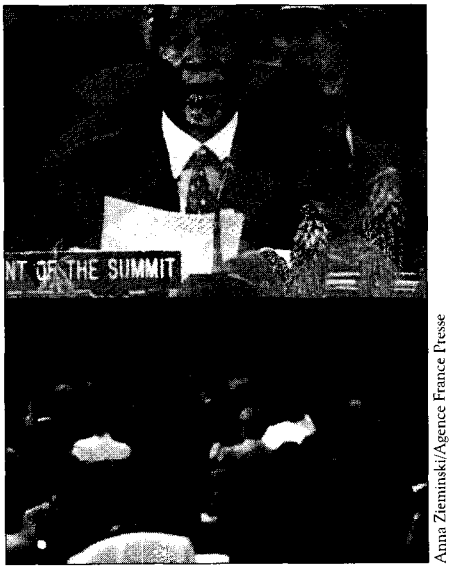
The future, moreover, is even sunnier than the present. Jesse Ausubel of Rockefeller University calculates that, given trends in agricultural productivity, an area the size of the Amazon basin will likely be returned to nature by 2070. Innovations in timber harvesting suggest that 10 percent of the world's forests will produce all our commercial needs by 2050. Advances in fisheries management promise a boom in marine productivity and a corresponding recovery of commercially valuable fish stocks. Growth in per capita income will improve the quality of both our air and our water. Man's "footprint" on the planet is becoming both softer and smaller.

Yet the Green mentality seems impervious to such facts, no matter how high the data are piled. My late colleague Julian Simon demonstrated this quite nicely at a forum some years ago. He began by asking, "How many of you think that pollution is in general getting worse and that resources are on the brink of exhaustion?" Nearly every hand in the audience went up. Then he asked, "What sort of evidence would you need to change your opinion?" No hands. "Is there anything that could change your mind—anything at all?" Again, nothing. "Well," he said, "let me apologize then. I'm not dressed for church."

If the data are so clearly pointing in the right direction, what are we to make of the various stylized sustainability indices, regularly trotted out by the media, suggesting that doom is around the corner? In a word, they're cooked.

Consider the "IPAT Identity." Introduced by Paul Ehrlich and John Holdren, it postulates that Environmental Impact (I) = Population (P) x Affluence (A) x Technology (T).

But the premises of IPAT are demonstrably false. Economists have found that for almost all pollutants, environmental quality will worsen with economic growth until per capita income reaches $3,000–$9,000 (depending on the pollutant), at which point environmental quality will *improve* with further growth. Technology can cut either for or against the environment, but environmental improvements in the 20th century suggest that "for" is much likelier. Population has proven no constraint on environmental quality.



Anna Zieminski/Agence France Presse

Crowding the pews in Johannesburg

Greens, however, will hold on to the IPAT formula like grim death. A typical result is the "Environmental Sustainability Index," devised by the World Economic Forum in collaboration with Yale and Columbia universities. This index ranks each nation's "sustainability" according to 68 metrics—fewer than half of which have any bearing on environmental quality or resource availability. Typical questions include: How many cars are in circulation? How many agricultural chemicals are employed? How much seafood do people eat? How many organized environmental groups are there, and how large are their memberships? How willing are domestic companies to join international environmental coalitions? How much land does the government own? How many international treaties has it signed?

The results are bizarre. If we posit that a more sustainable country is preferable to a less sustainable country, then Americans (living in a country with an "environmental sustainability index" of 53.2) ought to be clamoring to move to Botswana (61.8), Slovenia (58.8), Albania (57.9), Paraguay (57.8), Namibia (57.4), Laos (56.2), Gabon (54.9), Armenia (54.8), Moldova (54.5), Congo (54.3), Mongolia (54.2), or even the Central African Republic (54.1).

Other studies purport to measure our "ecological footprint" by assessing mankind's total demand on the planet against the supply of resources the planet has to provide. The World Wildlife Fund recently reported, for instance, that we are harvesting 20 percent more of the planet's resources than can be regenerated in a year and that we'll need to colonize two additional planets by 2050 if this continues. The media, predictably, went wild.

But if resources are indeed becoming scarce, shouldn't prices for those resources be going up? In fact, they're going down.

The study warns in particular that the amount of land we need to produce energy has doubled over 40 years—hence the dramatic warning that space colonization is necessary unless we cease and desist.

What the authors calculated, however, was not how much land was being used to produce oil, gas, and coal (which is, in fact, trivial), but how much *forestland* was necessary to absorb the carbon dioxide generated by fossil-fuel consumption. Only by the wildest stretch of the imagination can one discern a human "footprint" on the wild and uninhabited forests that suck up carbon dioxide. If anything, those emissions are *contributing* to forest health by fertilizing them mightily—an argument that has been convincingly made by Sylvan Wittwer, former chairman of the National Research Council's Board on Agriculture. Moreover, this human "use" of forests as carbon sinks does not preclude any other ecological or economic use of forestland resources.

Why do otherwise intelligent and well-educated people rush to crowd the pews in Johannesburg? For the same reason that otherwise intelligent and well-educated scientists in the Islamic world publish papers in peer-reviewed journals describing technologies to harness energy from Koranic djinni. Both are gripped by religious fervor, and scientific facts get left by the way. **NR**

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■ POLITICS ■

Bowles's Luck

Or is it simply politics?

JOEL MOWBRAY

In what state attorney general Richard Blumenthal described as a "virtually unprecedented" move, the State of Connecticut sued the investment firm Forstmann Little for losing more than $100 million in pension funds of state workers. Suing over disappeared dough is nothing new, but this lawsuit has two highly unusual aspects.

First, the suit put the fear of God into general partners (GPs) at investment shops everywhere, because seven Forstmann GPs were separately named as individual defendants—putting them personally on the hook for any resulting liability for making lousy investments that tanked. Second, and more important, one of the GPs—someone who was present when all the bad investments were made, who was there while much of that cash evaporated, and who even sat on the board of one of two relevant companies that went bankrupt—went unnamed.

Who was that mystery partner smiled on by Lady Luck? None other than Erskine Bowles, the multimillionaire former chief of staff for Bill Clinton and current Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate in North Carolina. Bowles appears to have had more than luck in his corner. The two people responsible for filing the suit—state treasurer Denise Nappier and Attorney General Blumenthal—are both elected Democrats.

Like so many other scandals of late, Connecticut's dispute with Forstmann stems from faltering telecom investments. The two biggest bugaboos are the collective billions Forstmann poured into XO Communications—where Connecticut lost its entire $95 million stake—and McLeod USA, in which Connecticut lost 90 percent of its $31.4 million piece of the pie.

Bowles disowns responsibility by saying, "I was there part-time on and off for a couple of years." He further notes that "over a 20-year period"—when Bowles was not a Forstmann partner—"[Forstmann Little] had a return on their investment of over 35 percent." Thus he embraces the period when he *wasn't* a partner and distances himself from the period when he was. Bowles's salary was $4.3 million a year—a sizable chunk of change for a part-timer.

The two investments that have landed Forstmann in hot water, XO and McLeod, were both made in Bowles's time. And as a general partner, he would have been involved in significant decisions. Like many of their telecom brethren, XO and McLeod wrapped themselves in the cloak of bankruptcy protection, virtually eliminating the value of Connecticut's

Erskine Bowles by Ismael Roldan

Mr. Mowbray is a reporter for National Review Online and a columnist for Townhall.com.

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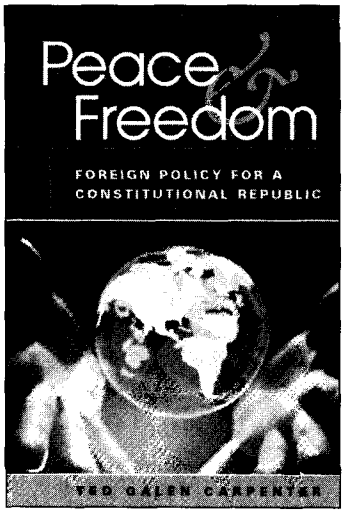

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investments in them via Bowles's firm.

Forstmann placed Connecticut's millions into two existing funds in which the state was one of several investors. The investment was intended as a conservative addition to Connecticut's overall portfolio, and the state says it was banking on Forstmann's prudent reputation. The state's lawsuit claims Forstmann promised a cautious investment strategy, taking over management of most of the companies in which it invested.

In the XO debacle, Forstmann kept throwing good money after bad—into a company it didn't even control. Over 18 months, Forstmann's two funds with Connecticut cash invested a total of $1.5 billion, all of which was zeroed out less than two years after the first installment. In fairness, almost every high-tech stock plunged during that same span, but Forstmann kept tossing in more loot. The headline from the *Wall Street Journal* on April 27, 2001, sums it up: "XO Reports Wide Loss for First Quarter, Gets $250 Million in Additional Funding." With full knowledge of a nearly half-billion dollar loss—in just three months—Forstmann used money from a supposedly conservative fund filled with workers' retirement money to prop up a company that was fading fast.

Forstmann's strategy with XO was akin to a desperate Vegas gambler who keeps doubling down, notes Wall Street professional Michael Madden of Questor Management. "It's like a poker game where you're so far into the pot, you keep ante-ing even if you don't have the strongest card."

The other investment that crashed, McLeod, was less of a disaster for Forstmann itself, but arguably more of one for Erskine Bowles. He was on McLeod's board for two years, leaving only three months before the firm filed for bankruptcy.

Although the contract Connecticut had with Forstmann appears to limit the firm to investing most of the money in companies where it assumes control of the management, the $1 billion investment in McLeod bought Forstmann only 12 percent of the company and two seats on the 13-seat board. (Bowles held one, and Ted Forstmann the other.) Thus, Forstmann Little clearly did not buy a controlling stake. It was a traditional equity investment, which is not what Connecticut says it agreed to.

As a board member of McLeod and a partner at Forstmann, Bowles was in as good a position as anyone to realize the true nature of the investment—yet he is not named in Connecticut's suit. This is curious, to say the least. Bowles joined Forstmann fully eight months before the McLeod investment, and was a partner for almost the entire XO disaster, exiting only one month before Connecticut's stake in XO was completely wiped out. Still, he is unnamed.

The omission could not be because Bowles is no longer with Forstmann—Steven Klinsky left the firm even before the bad investments were made, and he is named in the suit. In fact, another named defendant, Gordon Holmes, wasn't even a partner until *after* the bad investments had been made. One other GP besides Bowles—Joshua Lewis—is unnamed, but he was only a partner for about a year, starting after the McLeod deal and departing before the final XO investment. Bowles, on the other hand, was a partner during the time when all the investments in question were made.

Bowles's campaign staff has no comment other than to say that there has been "absolutely" no contact between Bowles or anyone acting on his behalf and the State of Connecticut. State Treasurer Nappier has said that Bowles was on the original list of defendants, but his name was dropped by the outside counsel working with her office because of a lack of direct involvement in wrongdoing. Yet Bowles clearly had more involvement in McLeod than the five partners who are named defendants but did not sit on the company's board of directors. And, again, Klinsky and Holmes were not even partners when the investments were made.

The most plausible answer is: pure politics. Neither Klinsky nor Holmes had the good sense to run for statewide office as a Democrat this year. Bill Simon, the Republican gubernatorial nominee in California, is in hot water because a company of which he is part-owner has been indicted. He could use a smile from Lady Luck. But Erskine Bowles has not just her: He has his fellow Democrats calling the shots. **NR**

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■ COVER STORY ■

Like a Bandit

The curious riches of Terry McAuliffe, Democratic honcho

BYRON YORK

On August 10, in a speech before the Democratic National Committee's summer meeting in Las Vegas, party chairman Terry McAuliffe demanded that President Bush make public records of the Securities and Exchange Commission's investigation into his sale of Harken Energy stock more than a decade ago (a probe that found no wrongdoing on Bush's part). "If you have nothing to hide, then release the documents," McAuliffe roared as the crowd cheered. "To paraphrase a Republican hero—Mr. President, tear down this stonewall!"

The next morning, up early to appear on ABC's *This Week* program, McAuliffe was asked a question about his extraordinarily profitable relationship with Global Crossing, the bankrupt telecommunications company now under criminal investigation for alleged financial fraud. In 1997, when Global Crossing was still a private firm, its CEO (and former McAuliffe business partner) Gary Winnick gave McAuliffe an opportunity to invest $100,000 in the company. Two years later, McAuliffe sold his interest for a reported $18 million. On *This Week*, McAuliffe was in no mood to talk about the subject. "Well, first of all, you have no idea if I made one penny, Sam, or not," he told host Sam Donaldson. "Well, tell me," Donaldson responded. "I was merely an investor in a company," McAuliffe answered.

The two appearances, just hours apart, highlight a dilemma McAuliffe is facing more and more frequently these days. He is perhaps the most aggressive and public critic of George W. Bush's record in business—just a few days before the Las Vegas speech, he urged the president to "set an example by coming clean on your past business dealings"—yet he faces continuing questions over his own business affairs. And the questions extend far beyond his $18 million windfall.

According to sources on Capitol Hill, the House Energy and Commerce Committee's investigation of corporate wrongdoing—a probe that began with the collapse of Enron and has since expanded to include Global Crossing and other companies—has touched on a number of McAuliffe's business dealings. "His name has popped up time and time again in several of our investigations," says a source. For example, NATIONAL REVIEW has learned that as part of the Global Crossing probe, investigators have looked into the relationship between Global Crossing and a now-bankrupt Syracuse, N.Y., telecom firm called Telergy. McAuliffe, a native of Syracuse who knew some of Telergy's executives, played a key role in bringing the two companies together.

McAuliffe joined Telergy's board of directors in August 1999. The next month, Global Crossing invested $40 million in Telergy. Telergy later reported to the SEC that it paid McAuliffe $1.2 million for "assisting us in raising equity capital." (That was not an insignificant amount; according to the SEC filing, $1.2 million was roughly equal to the combined salaries and bonuses of Telergy's top three officers for that year.) At the same time, September 1999, Telergy and Global Crossing also entered into an arrangement known as an IRU. The acronym stands for "indefeasible right to use" and refers to the practice of capacity swaps, in which telecom firms trade access to one another's transmission lines. Global Crossing would later become notorious for counting capacity swaps, which are essentially barter deals, as revenue, an accounting device that made the company look more prosperous than it was. Now investigators want to find out whether Telergy, with McAuliffe on its board of directors, engaged in similar practices.

The Telergy deal will likely be part of hearings on Global Crossing that the Energy and Commerce Committee is preparing to hold in mid-to-late September. Sources say it is possible McAuliffe will be asked to testify. Should that happen, McAuliffe will find himself under oath, before cameras, facing questioners with considerably more clout than Sam Donaldson. And many of them will want to know just one thing: How did McAuliffe make all that money?

'THAT'S CAPITALISM'

Although it has long been accepted that McAuliffe made $18 million from his Global Crossing investment—he told the *New York Times* so in a December 1999 profile—he now says he didn't really make that much. "The $18 million figure is a figure that the *Times* created," says Jennifer Palmieri, the DNC press secretary who has discussed the issue with McAuliffe. "He has said he thinks it's closer to half of that." Palmieri says McAuliffe has not previously disputed the $18 million figure because he wants to maintain a zone of privacy around his business dealings and because he realizes that arguing the details will not change the basic story. "He knows that as far as the average American is concerned, making $9 million or making $18 million isn't that much different," Palmieri says. "He obviously did very well." (Others did not. Well after McAuliffe got out, investors with less fortunate timing lost $54 billion in Global Crossing's bankruptcy, and nearly 10,000 employees lost their jobs.)

But as much as McAuliffe's big payday has been discussed, it

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has never really been closely examined. Just how does one make $18 million—or even $9 million—from a $100,000 investment in the span of a couple of years?

First of all, it's not something that any member of the public could do. According to Palmieri, McAuliffe bought his stock in August 1997. At that time, Global Crossing was a private company, and Winnick's invitation to McAuliffe to invest was an opportunity that was limited to a few select friends of the firm. McAuliffe still held his shares when Global Crossing went public in August 1998. On its first day of trading, the stock sold for $12.75 per share (that price is adjusted for a later split). By September, it had drifted down to $8 per share, its lowest point. Nine months later, on May 13, 1999, the stock hit its highest price, $64.25 per share. If an investor had been lucky enough to buy $100,000 worth of the stock at its lowest price and to sell at its highest price, the original investment would have grown to $803,125. That's a terrific profit, but nothing like what McAuliffe made—especially when one considers that McAuliffe, according to Palmieri, sold his stock in the fall of 1999, when the stock was well below its peak.

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Just how does one make $18 million—or even $9 million—from a $100,000 investment in the span of a couple of years?

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So how did he do it? It's not possible to know how big an interest in the company McAuliffe received for his $100,000; he has declined to discuss it, and he was not required to file any public reports on his ownership. Still, it is possible, by charting the stock's price during the time McAuliffe owned it, to make some informed estimates.

Say McAuliffe sold on October 1, 1999. On that day, Global Crossing shares sold for $26.06. In order to make $18 million, McAuliffe would have had to sell 690,714 shares. To have acquired that many shares from his original $100,000 investment, McAuliffe would have had to get the stock at a split-adjusted price of a little less than 15 cents per share. If, as McAuliffe says, he in fact made $9 million from the sale, that would mean he bought the shares at a split-adjusted price of a little less than 30 cents per share.

But perhaps McAuliffe sold later, when the stock was rising. On November 1, Global Crossing shares sold for $35.75, meaning he would have had to sell 503,496 shares to make $18 million. To have acquired them for $100,000, McAuliffe would have had to get the stock at a split-adjusted price of a little less than 20 cents per share. If McAuliffe sold still later, say on December 1, when Global Crossing shares sold for $43.50 per share, he would have had to sell 413,793 shares of stock to make $18 million. That would mean he bought the stock at a split-adjusted price of a little more than 24 cents per share.

And so on. Whatever the scenario, it seems likely that McAuliffe made his fortune by purchasing Global Crossing at just pennies per share. Perhaps his success was the result of particularly good business sense and a willingness to take risks. After all, if Global Crossing had done badly, McAuliffe might have lost money. "I bought stock and I sold stock. That's capitalism," McAuliffe explained on the Fox News Channel last January. "If you don't like it, leave the country and move to China."

On the other hand, perhaps there's more to it than that. At the time of his dealings with Global Crossing, McAuliffe was the finance chairman of the Democratic National Committee—the party's top fundraiser. As such, he could help deliver the political access that Winnick needed to cut through the complex regulatory issues that are part of life in the telecom business. That access went all the way to the top. In 1999, as the value of his investment was growing, McAuliffe arranged for Winnick to play golf with Bill Clinton (he also arranged, separately, for Telergy's president, Kevin Kelly, to play a round with the president). It is not unreasonable to ask whether Global Crossing was pursuing political influence on a two-track basis: one, the old-fashioned way, by making political contributions to candidates and political parties, and two, by making the party finance chairman personally rich.

In his defense, McAuliffe says that, unlike George W. Bush's career with Harken Energy, he had no management role in Global Crossing. "I never worked for [Global Crossing]," McAuliffe said on ABC. "I never went to a shareholder meeting. I wasn't on the board. There's a difference between being a mere investor, which millions of people are every single day in this country, and running the company, and making decisions that affect people's jobs and affect shareholder value." While that is true, it is also true that McAuliffe's closeness to Winnick and his well-timed investments suggest that McAuliffe might have enjoyed some of the benefits of insiderdom without its accompanying burdens (like having to file public notice when one buys or sells company stock). And it is not at all true in the case of Telergy, where McAuliffe was a member of the board of directors. (In August 2001, with Telergy in financial free fall and more than 100 employees laid off without severance pay, McAuliffe abruptly resigned from the board, along with the company's top management team and several other directors. Telergy filed for bankruptcy later that year.)

Nevertheless, in the end, the biggest problem McAuliffe will likely face is not that his actions broke any laws, but that they fail the new test of business propriety that McAuliffe himself has established for George W. Bush. In his Las Vegas speech, McAuliffe said of Bush's efforts for corporate reform, "His own past leaves him unable to lead on this issue. How can he restore confidence to Wall Street when he has engaged in the same practices he condemns today?" One might as well ask the same question of McAuliffe.

INT'L BROTHERHOOD OF WHEELER-DEALERS

While McAuliffe's ventures in the telecommunications industry have attracted a good deal of attention recently, they are just one part of his business life. Another aspect of his career that has received far less notice is his involvement in real estate—an area in which he has made at least one deal that was, in percentage terms, even more profitable than the Global Crossing investment.

In November 1990, McAuliffe pitched an investment proposal to a man named Jack Moore, who was a longtime official of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Moore ran the union's pension fund and had virtually unchallenged

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authority to choose where to invest its $6 billion store of capital. He had met McAuliffe a couple of years earlier when both men were supporters of Democratic representative Richard Gephardt's 1988 presidential campaign.

McAuliffe wanted to create a partnership to buy a large block of commercial real estate in central Florida, including a shopping center and several apartment buildings. Moore agreed, and he and McAuliffe came up with an extraordinary arrangement. McAuliffe put up $100 for the purchase, and the pension fund put up $39 million. Despite the enormous disparity in investment, the deal called for both sides to split the profits 50–50, after the union received a modest initial return.

The next year, McAuliffe proposed another venture for the partnership. This time, he wanted to buy a parcel of land near the apartment complexes and divide it into more than 500 single-family lots. Instead of another lopsided purchase arrangement, the pension fund offered to lend McAuliffe up to $10 million to buy the property, which was known as Country Run. As collateral, McAuliffe put up the land itself, plus his 50 percent interest in the apartment/shopping-center development.

But not long afterward, McAuliffe got out of the first deal. In June 1992, the pension fund paid McAuliffe $450,000 for a portion of his 50 percent share. Then, in August 1993, the fund paid McAuliffe an additional $2 million for most of the rest of his share. McAuliffe's total return was $2.45 million on an original investment of $100. It was an unusually generous deal for the fund's officers to give McAuliffe, especially since it meant that McAuliffe no longer had the property which he had put up as collateral for the Country Run loan.

In the years that followed, the Country Run project went nowhere; by the end of 1996, lot sales to homebuilders were less than half what had been projected. McAuliffe made no loan payments to the union from December 1992 until October 1997. Finally, in 1997, McAuliffe found another partner and bought out the loan. In the end, the electrical workers' pension fund got a relatively meager return on its money—significantly less than it would have earned in a more conservative investment.

In the late 1990s, the deal came under investigation by the Clinton Labor Department, which filed suit against Moore and another union official named John Grau, alleging that they had endangered union members' savings by entering into questionable business arrangements with McAuliffe (the details in this story come from court documents in the case). "The fund lost money as a result of the [Country Run] loan in 1992 and the purchases of additional partnership interests from [McAuliffe] in 1992 and 1993," the Labor Department said. "In addition, if the fund had not made these investments, it would have had the money it invested in Country Run and the additional partnership purchases available to invest in prudent investments that would have earned a greater return."

Last October, Moore and Grau agreed to pay a six-figure penalty for their role in the McAuliffe ventures, and the electrical-workers union was forced to reimburse the pension fund nearly $5 million for its officers' failure to act "with the care,

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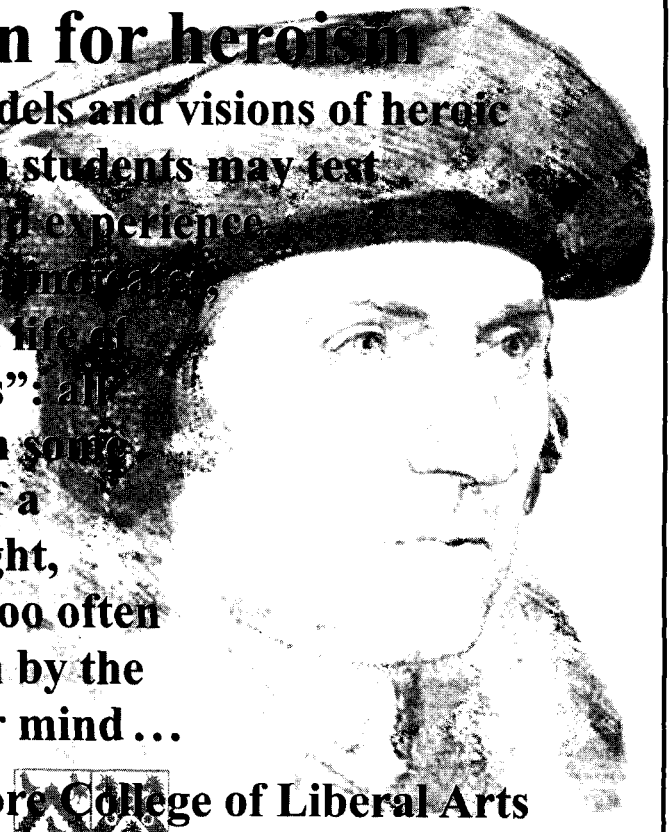
The education for heroism makes available models and visions of heroic action against which students may test their own actions and experience. As Jacques Maritain indicates, poetry "is the secret life of each and all the arts": all the disciplines are in some sense translations of a common *poetic* insight, an intuitive source too often ignored or forgotten by the rationalistic, secular mind ...



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skill, prudence, and diligence . . . that a prudent person acting in a like capacity and familiar with such matters would use." McAuliffe was not charged with any wrongdoing.

'HE ISN'T PRESIDENT'

Taken together, the union real-estate deals and the Global Crossing investment, although far different in their details, suggest a pattern in McAuliffe's business life. Both involved political connections, insider opportunities, enormous profits, and a lack of attention to sound business practices. The combination made McAuliffe a very wealthy man.

Much of this might have escaped public notice had McAuliffe not chosen to attack George W. Bush on the issue of business ethics. Now, after months of such attacks, McAuliffe finds himself on the defensive. On his behalf, Jennifer Palmieri says, "We're holding Bush to Bush's standard, the standard he has laid out for corporate CEOs. He should follow that example." The unspoken implication of that argument is that McAuliffe should not be held to a similar standard. "He isn't president of the United States," Palmieri says. "He doesn't have the responsibility or the ability to restore confidence in the markets."

Democrats have also defended McAuliffe by questioning Republican motives in the Global Crossing investigation. Palmieri says GOP inquiries about McAuliffe's business career are "clearly politically motivated to distract attention from Bush's problems and to try to have a chilling impact on Terry, so that he feels he can't talk about corporate responsibility, or they will go after him." Lastly, Democrats have suggested that McAuliffe did nothing worse than the first President Bush, who in early 1998 made a speech for Global Crossing and opted to forgo his usual $80,000 fee and instead accept Winnick's offer to be paid in stock. Bush sold the stock in November 1999 for $4.45 million—an extraordinarily lucrative deal, although not as rich as McAuliffe's.

Altogether, it's not a terribly convincing defense. Holding a House committee hearing on the collapse of Global Crossing is a perfectly legitimate use of Congress's investigative authority, especially when one considers that there are nearly a dozen ongoing investigations of the Enron scandal underway (and considering that the Democratic-controlled Senate has shown no interest in Global Crossing). As for former President Bush, Democrats might score some points with that argument, but they know there is one key political difference between the two cases, and that is that the former president is not taking a highly public and combative role on the issue of corporate ethics. He hasn't entered the fray, and it might prove difficult to pull him into it.

Finally, the Democrats' key defense of McAuliffe might prove to be a hard sell, too. Yes, McAuliffe isn't president, and yes, a president is subjected to more scrutiny than anyone else. But there is also significant precedent in Washington for a president's accusers to find themselves in the spotlight. In this case, it's probably safe to say that Terry McAuliffe, the head of the Democratic party, was closer to Gary Winnick than George W. Bush ever was to Kenneth Lay. How could one *not* ask questions about that?

In July, not long after the story of the president's sale of Harken Energy stock appeared in the press, McAuliffe loudly proclaimed, "Every day, more questions arise." Now he's finding out that's true in more ways than one. **NR**

'Everything Changed'

Would that the cliché were true

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

In war, can there be such a thing as a victory that comes too cheap? Of course not: A victory in which not a single American life is lost should be the ideal. It's true, however, that an easy victory can sometimes have damaging consequences. After 9/11, did the seeming ease with which we defeated al-Qaeda and its Taliban landlords persuade Americans that the war on terrorism was basically over? And have we lost our sense of purpose as a result?

We can perhaps judge this more clearly if we go back beyond the Afghan campaign to the weeks immediately following September 11. At that time, the U.S. benefited from the strong popular reactions to the terrorist attacks both at home and abroad. There was an overwhelming sense of national unity; a moral clarity that allowed most people to blame the terrorists rather than "root causes" for the attacks; and a genuine outpouring of support for America, especially from our European allies.

Even when the popular feelings of outrage and vulnerability were still raw and vital, however, one could detect very subtle signs that not enough had changed. Let me mention two such signs. First, as soon as the legislation to strengthen security arrangements began to be discussed, the Democrats made it a rationalization for federalizing airport workers, and their house intellectuals broadened the argument to assert that 9/11 had changed America's mind about the need for big government. There was little evidence to support either proposition. After all, it was federal workers in the Immigration and Naturalization Service who had most spectacularly failed to protect the nation. And the government workers the public most admired after 9/11 were firemen, police, and soldiers—who incarnate the ideal of "small government," performing those minimal functions of government admitted to be necessary by all parties. But it was a hint that partisan politics would be carried on as usual under the guise of defending the public.

The second sign was, if anything, more unsettling. It was the sudden outpouring of presidential and other appeals—solemnly echoed from pulpits and TV screens—that Americans should refrain from surging out and attacking innocent Muslims. In principle there is nothing wrong, and a great deal right, with such appeals. Americans regret that some European governments have not issued similar appeals on behalf of Jews under attack. But the difference is that Jews have been under attack in Europe, both physically and morally, in large numbers (largely, as it happens, by Muslims); whereas there was no sign whatsoever of general hostility to Muslims among Americans. Nine months later, indeed, only 51 cases of civil discrimination and 65 cases of criminal threats and violence against Muslims in the U.S. have been shown to have any basis in fact: a very small backlash indeed.

Nor was there a corresponding presidential appeal to Muslims

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in the U.S. to condemn the 9/11 attack and to express their loyalty to the United States. Such an appeal would have been amply justified, since in the early weeks some mullahs were issuing highly qualified criticisms of Osama bin Laden, and others outright support. Yet the instinctive response of the political elite, including a Republican president, to a shattering terrorist attack was to worry that ordinary Americans would now molest any innocent Muslim they ran across. Underneath the patriotic unanimity, the political establishment harbored the fear that the American majority was racist, sexist, homophobic, and xenophobic—and that others needed protection from it.

Taken together, these two signs also indicated something else: namely, that insofar as 9/11 might establish new directions in government policy, it was likely to extend government regulation but not to strengthen either real security or the sense of national solidarity on which the war effort might ultimately depend. At the time, that seemed hardly to matter since national solidarity and that high sense of alertness born of present danger were everywhere. But a national mood can dissipate. What was needed to preserve its concrete benefits indefinitely was a national program for homeland security, a foreign policy that turned the sympathy of the allies into a permanent anti-terrorist front, and a cultural policy that made the mood of "United We Stand" into the basis of an inclusive American identity that would replace the uneasy multicultural theory of American nationhood.

Then, before any of these things could be attempted, all eyes were suddenly on Afghanistan.

A LOSS OF PURPOSE

The campaign in Afghanistan was a thundering success. It brought the U.S. so many benefits in the war against terror that it seems eccentrically unreasonable to point to its drawbacks. But drawbacks there were: It was, for instance, a war in which the U.S. enjoyed the real practical support of allies on the ground—yet America emerged from it in a mood of national egotism that denied the need for allies. But the main drawback was that, as after the Gulf War, any sense of emergency gradually evaporated. It is in the nature of a sense of emergency to be short-lived even when the emergency itself is long-lasting. In the last five or six months the American people have visibly relaxed their sense of wartime purpose. If this is a war, it is the phony-war stage of the conflict. And the dikes have been accordingly neglected.

Homeland security has degenerated into a bureaucratic reorganization within Washington and into the mindless application of unrealistic rules outside it. Within Washington, the president and his advisers have decided to bring together a slew of different agencies under one roof; but this huge effort to establish new bureaucratic relationships amounts to what psychologists call a displacement exercise—doing something pointless in order to avoid doing something difficult. Outside Washington, homeland security has become notorious for such episodes as subjecting Al Gore to a "random" airport search because of rules that declare everyone equally likely to be a terrorist.

Though they may be random, these absurdities are far from accidental. Transparently respectable citizens are subjected to long delays and inspections because Washington is unwilling to offend ethnic lobbies either by the larger solution of reducing immigration to levels compatible with national security or by the smaller one of confining searches to those passengers who fit a terrorist profile (which is not, incidentally, a racial profile, though it may include racial or national aspects). The airport checks, too, are a displacement exercise. Would these evasions have been acceptable if the national sense of urgency—tangible a year ago—still prevailed?

On foreign policy, the administration has foolishly allowed the sympathy for America so prevalent a year ago to degenerate into mild hostility at best and outright opposition at worst. The explanation of this change is not that President Bush has pursued a unilateralist course on Kyoto and so on, as the Left argues, nor that all the Europeans are inveterate anti-Americans, as the Right argues. America's error was, rather, to seek to get its way without having argued its case (until Ambassador John Bolton began to do so relatively recently). That made the U.S. seem arrogant; the solution in future is to present the U.S. case reasonably, and at an early stage of the debate.

■

If this is a war, it is the phony-war stage of the conflict. And the dikes have been accordingly neglected.

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As for the Europeans' being anti-democratic, some are and some ain't. An administration eager to bind Europe to itself in the war on terror would have subtly set about a strategy of "divide and rule," separating out those European nations willing to help. In order to do so, the U.S. would have had to undermine those aspects of the European Union that serve to unify "Europe" and to do so largely against U.S. policies. Nothing of the kind has happened. Instead, American policy continues on its postwar course of encouraging all European integration. It would be comforting to report that American conservatives had criticized and opposed this State Department drift. Unfortunately, with few exceptions, they have accepted the false picture of a Europe already unified in opposition to the U.S., denounced it in apocalyptic terms, and gone on to advance strategic fantasies of replacing NATO with an anti-Islamic alliance built on Turkey (an Islamic country), Russia (which just signed a trade deal with Iraq), India (which is violently hostile to America's client, President Musharraf of Pakistan), and Israel. It is, of course, an achievement of sorts to have produced a foreign policy even more unrealistic than that of the U.S. State Department.

But the general public in most European countries is unconcerned about these elevated matters. What has harmed the U.S. with ordinary Europeans (and given the inveterate anti-Americans a political weapon) has been the impression Americans have sometimes given of not appreciating the allied support they got in Afghanistan and not wanting support against Iraq. Not very surprisingly, this elicits a reaction of hostile unconcern.

And—unfortunately for the conservative argument that the U.S. can lightly dispense with European allies—skeptical or hostile European sentiments then strengthen American dis-

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senters. What we have recently witnessed, until Vice President Cheney recovered the initiative for the administration, is the slow erosion of national fortitude by debate and criticism as indignation at 9/11 fades from memory. And that resolve has weakened in part because we have not maintained it among our allies—again until recently, when Condoleezza Rice directly addressed British opinion via the BBC.

A NEW NATIONAL IDENTITY

But the weakening of both homeland security and foreign policy pales into merely moderate significance when set against the weakening of national unity under the continuing influence of politically correct multiculturalism. The National Education Association recently instructed teachers how to mark the 9/11 anniversary—warning against "assigning blame to populations or nations of people" and suggesting that teachers discuss instead "contemporary examples of ethnic conflict, discrimination, and stereotyping at home and abroad. . . . Internment of Japanese Americans after Pearl Harbor and the backlash against Arab Americans during the Gulf War are obvious examples."

In other words, there must be no stereotyping of Muslims in general because the terrorists who committed the crimes of 9/11 were Muslim, but the Americans can be reasonably blamed even for things that never happened, such as the backlash against Arab Americans during the Gulf War. We are the first ethnocentric masochists: We blame ourselves, and excuse others, for all crimes, ancient and modern.

A "soft" version of this multicultural masochism has filtered down to schools, churches, and local institutions across America. When Iowa proposed to note in driver's licenses issued to foreigners that they were "Non-renewable: documentation required," a local lawyer immediately jumped up to compare this to the issuing of a yellow star to Jews by Nazis. Or when a primary school held a cultural festival at which the children were invited to attend in "their" ethnic costume, a young boy who felt himself to be American was sent home for coming dressed as a cowboy. This sternness does not apply in reverse. When the University of North Carolina required its incoming students to study the Koran for educational purposes, it issued them extracts and commentaries that omitted any bloodthirsty passages; the ACLU raised no objection to this state-enforced uncritical religious instruction.

This syndrome afflicts most national institutions. The president himself is party to it—almost certainly because, as a good Christian man who recognizes the demands of charity, he imagines that the moral choice is one between multiculturalism and bigotry. In fact, the choice is between a national identity that brings all ethnic groups together under one "American" heading and a multicultural identity that separates them into distinct and possibly hostile cultural compartments. In weakening the springs of patriotic sentiment, this pathology ultimately erodes our determination to defeat the forces that attacked us a year ago. Immediately following 9/11, Bush had the opportunity to sweep away this multicultural masochism—because the healthy unifying patriotism that should replace it was welling up all around him. He neglected to do so then, and the same task will be harder in future. Eventually, however, it will have to be done—or we will have al-Qaedas germinating aggressively within the United States. **NR**

Hunting Tiger

Everyone wants a piece of him

JAY NORDLINGER

THE pressure on Tiger Woods is mounting, and it has nothing to do with golf: It's the pressure to blacken up—to be a social activist, a racial spokesman. Throughout his young career, Woods has resisted this, standing on individualism, and universalism. But it would be hard for even the strongest person not to crack.

Right from the start, Woods was a breath of fresh air, not least "socially." When he appeared at the Masters as an amateur, Jim Nantz of CBS asked him whether he had a special obligation to be a role model for "minority kids." The expected answer was, "Yes, of course." The actual answer was, "No. I have an obligation to all kids."

Later on, Larry King went at him on CNN. "Do you feel that you're an influence on young blacks?" Woods answered, "Young children." This seemed to annoy "the King": "Just 'young children'? Don't you think you've attracted a lot more blacks to the game?" Replied Woods, "Yeah, I think I've attracted minorities to the game, but you know what? Why limit it to just that? . . . Everybody should be in the fold."

As the years passed, Woods held pretty firm, not allowing himself to be bullied, rarely submitting to racial-political games.

'A GOLFER AND A HUMAN BEING'

With "identity" a burning question in this country, everyone wants a piece of Tiger Woods. To recite the racial recipe once more: Woods's dad is half black, a quarter Chinese, and a quarter Indian; his mom is half Thai, a quarter Chinese, and a quarter white. When he was growing up, he coined a word for his ancestral mix: "Cablinasian" (enfolding Caucasian, black, Indian, and Asian). This drew hoots and howls from many quarters, with even Colin Powell, on *Meet the Press*, giving a snort. Asked Tim Russert, "If you have an ounce of black blood, aren't you black?" Powell answered that he, like Tiger, was of mixed background, but "in order not to come up with a very strange word such as Tiger did, I consider myself black American. I'm very proud of it."

Thus did Powell come within an inch of calling Tiger Woods a Tom.

Of course, there is much truth—social truth—to this "one drop" business in America. The old saying is, America's the only country in the world in which a white woman can give birth to a black baby but a black woman can't give birth to a white baby. André Watts is considered, everywhere, a black American pianist. Who cares that his mother was a Hungarian?

Mr. Nordlinger, NR's managing editor, wrote "Tiger Time: The Wonder of an American Hero," for the April 30, 2001, issue.

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Woods is certainly not unmindful of all of this. He has given ample proof that he doesn't have his head in the sand. But neither is he bound by other people's racial imperatives.

Early in the game, he put out a "media statement" on what he called "my heritage," declaring that this would be "the final and only comment I will make regarding the issue" (fat chance—but the sentiment was nice). Woods said, in part, "The critical and fundamental point is that ethnic background and/or composition should NOT make a difference. It does NOT make a difference to me. The bottom line is that I am an American . . . and proud of it! That is who I am and what I am. Now, with your cooperation [meaning the media's], I hope I can just be a golfer and a human being."

Again: Fat chance.

After he won the Masters for the first time in 1997, Woods told Oprah Winfrey "I'm just who I am"—to hell with the "genetic code"—and the stuff hit the fan. Many people charged him with virtual race treason. Leonard Pitts Jr., a columnist for the *Miami Herald*, said candidly, "It's simple. I want to claim him. I want him for my side." Mary A. Mitchell in the *Chicago Sun-Times* all but accused Woods of passing, and said, "It is as if he thumbed his nose at an entire race of people." *Ebony* magazine commissioned an entire symposium on the subject, with much hand-wringing.

In 2000, the NAACP asked Woods to boycott a PGA Tour event in South Carolina, in protest of the Confederate flag. Tiger wouldn't go along, saying, "I'm a golfer. That's their deal, not mine." This was taken as evidence of a lack of "social conscience," and many said that this young, cocky, selfish man would simply have to "mature"—would have to get hip to the American reality. Woods's friend Charles Barkley, the ex–NBA star, remarked, "Tiger likes to be okay with everybody, to appeal to all people. . . . [But] I tell him that Thai people don't get hate mail, black people do." (Barkley also took notice of Woods's fondness for scuba diving. "I don't get it," he joked. "Black people aren't supposed to scuba dive." He made no speculation about "buoyancy.")

'DISGRACE'

This last July, the golfer really got hammered. A women's group pressured Augusta National—the club that holds the Masters—to admit women as members. At the time, Woods was in Scotland, trying to win the British Open. Asked about Augusta's policy, Woods answered, off the cuff, "They're entitled to set up their own rules the way they want them. It would be nice to see everyone have an equal chance to participate, but there's nothing you can do about it. . . . It's their prerogative."

Tiger was in a delicate position, as a three-time Masters winner and someone who, it seemed, did not equate a men-only policy with a whites-only policy. But the media class didn't see it his way, and flaunted their virtue by painting Woods as a near Ku Kluxer.

Sally Jenkins, writing in the *Washington Post*, sicced Martin Luther King on him: "Those who sit at rest buy their quiet

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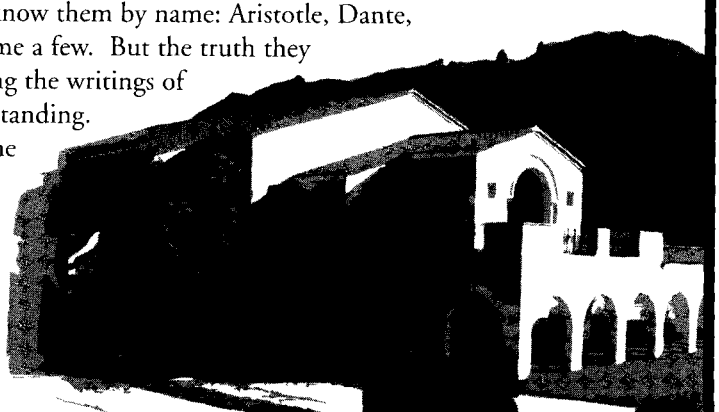

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with disgrace." C. Jemal Horton, in the *Indianapolis Star*, sicced Malcolm X on him: "A man who stands for nothing will fall for anything" (and Woods's performance was "sickening," Horton said). The *Chicago Tribune* columnist Clarence Page suggested that Woods failed to win the British Open because "his conscience was bothering him." He further warned that the young man had better get "on the right side of history."

Tiger, for his part, backpedaled somewhat, declaring on his website, "Would I like to see women members? Yes, that would be great, but I am only one voice. I'm not even a regular member." (A Masters champion is an honorary member.) At the recent PGA Tournament, on the general subject of political involvement, Woods observed, "It seems like the more putts I've holed and the lower my scores have become, the more knowledgeable I'm supposed to have gotten! . . . I can't be the leader in all causes. I'm still 26, and obviously I can probably do more as I get older and understand what I can and cannot give my time to. Right now, I'm very focused on my foundation's development and urban youth."

That's what he clings to, when these questions come up: the Tiger Woods Foundation, dedicated to underprivileged kids. That's what his defenders cling to, too. See, they say, he's doing his part. (Tiger has even used these words: "I've done my part. That's what my foundation is all about. I'm trying to do my share.") And yet, what Tiger is doing more broadly—setting golf records, conducting himself in gentlemanly fashion, rising above racial-political madness—will do more for the "causes" than anything else. But what causes? Those of American unity, reason, good will.

Reuters NewMedia Inc./Corbis

The world's greatest athlete—and social-political punching bag

A SPECIAL ROLE

It's true that Tiger, certainly in golf, has had an effect on black Americans in particular. I've seen it with my own eyes. In the '90s, I lived in Washington, D.C., and about every weekend would go down to one of the city's few ranges to practice. The weekend after Tiger won that first Masters—April '97—I went to the range as usual, and the place was absolutely crawling with black young people, whacking at it for the first time. You couldn't help grinning. And Tiger Woods hadn't "done" anything—hadn't given a speech at a rally, hadn't denounced anybody. He had merely blown away the field by twelve strokes, and been his excellent self. That was enough.

A few weeks ago, Jack Nicklaus—Tiger's predecessor, in many ways—got it exactly right (as usual). After playing an exhibition match with Woods, he said, "Tiger really got put on the spot with a question about, 'Why aren't you doing more for women?' It was all I could do to bite my tongue. I say, 'What more can he do?' Tiger Woods, just by being Tiger Woods, is doing a lot. He is doing a lot by the example he sets every day, the role model he is, the foundation he runs" (ah, there's that foundation again—a kind of security blanket).

And Michael Wilbon, another *Washington Post* columnist, issued the Bear a helluva spanking. He said, "Jack Nicklaus doesn't get to frame this conversation because it isn't about golf or championship competition. It's about social conscience and obligation as a person of color in America, and in that area, Nicklaus is no expert; he's not even in the game." A more familiar way to put this is, "It's a black thing—you wouldn't understand." That, you can read on a T-shirt.

There is no doubt that Tiger will never be "black" enough for some—for the "blacker-than-thou" crowd, as Thomas Sowell once put it. The other day, I saw a headline out of the nation's capital: "D.C. mayor 'proud' of his term; [Anthony] Williams disputes he's not 'black enough' to lead city." There are some who hate colorblindness—they fairly spit out the word—more than they hate racism itself. At least racism is something they can understand, being a type of racial obsession. A wag once said, "Philo-Semitism is the higher anti-Semitism." We might contemplate something similar in the realm of race.

Tiger, much against his will, is the rope in a kind of tug-of-war. All of us, indeed, want a piece of him. The racialists want to claim him—want him to be sort of the Maxine Waters of the fairways—and we anti-racialists want to claim him too. A lot of conservatives view him as one of them: He's devoted to excellence, he works in near solitude, he is utterly disciplined, he has a cussed streak, he asserts the right to be free from politics, he's hard to push around, he's financially shrewd ("tight," his father says), he despises whining, and—perhaps not least—he has a barely disguised contempt for the media! (At the PGA, a reporter asked him what was the "worst aspect" of being Tiger Woods. With a smile, Tiger pointed to the journos assembled for the press conference and said, "Easy: This.")

Michael Wilbon writes, "Tiger so has our attention, he has no idea what an agent for change he can be." Oh? Perhaps Tiger, who has lived with teeming, demanding crowds since he was a tyke, knows a bit more about this than the rest of us do. And why can't he be an agent for change in a universalist, colorblind, anti-racialist direction? Why can't his change tend toward transcendence? Writes Wilbon, "There's every reason to believe, given his intelligence and who his father is, that Tiger will develop his own social conscience." How amazingly condescending. What do you think his protests for One America—"all children," "everybody should be in the fold"—are, if not a social conscience? Wilbon: "A lot of people in this world are waiting to hear his voice." You mean, you haven't heard it? *The bottom line is that I am an American. I'm just who I am. A golfer and a human being.*

Wilbon: "I'm one of those who believe that, when it's time, Tiger's voice will be clear and unwavering." It has been. It's just that a lot of folks haven't liked it. And they will hound him and hound him until he falls into step. They will never leave him alone. Never, never. Can Tiger hold out, be true to himself and the ideals he has already articulated? That would be as amazing as his golf record. **NR**

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THE LONG VIEW

By Rob Long

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bill Clinton, Harry Thomason
CC: L. Moonves, M. Karmazin
FROM: CBS Research
RE: First 12 segments focus group results — excerpts

Dear Harry and Bill:

Please find attached the focus group findings for the first 12 segments of "Friends of Bill" for your review. As mentioned on the phone, these are just initial results. Let's talk when you've had a chance to review them.

ASI FOCUS GROUP CONDUCTED ON 4/12/03

Participants: White Male 30's (**WM30**); White Female 40's (**WF40**); African-American Female 50's-60's (**AAF5060**); Tween Female (**TF**); Preteen Male (**PTM**); Asian-American Male 50's (**AsA50**); Young White Female 20's (**YWF**); African-American Male 30's (**AAM30**); and Moderator (**MOD**).

MOD: Let's talk about how he looked . . .
AAF5060: I really liked the suit. And the hat I thought was so, just so . . . can I say elegant?
TF: You liked that hat?
MOD: Wait, which hat are you referring to?
AAF5060: The one at the beginning of the show. The fur one?
MOD: During the dance number?
AAF5060: I didn't know he was supposed to be dancing. Was that dancing?
WF40: It wasn't dancing dancing. It was just kind of interpretive movement, I think.
WM30: When he was wandering through the streets of New York, kind of looking up at all the buildings in wonder or whatever? And sort of singing "New York, New York"?
AsA50: It was more sing-talking, you know. Like Rex Harrison in "My Fair Lady."
PTM: He looked gay.
MOD: Does anyone else feel that he looked gay?
PTM: Who is he, anyway? Like, a doctor or whatever?
TF: I saw him on "Entertainment Tonight."
MOD: To continue, for a moment, on the appearance of the host. How did people feel about his overall "look"?
AAF5060: As I said, I think he looked elegant and regal. Especially later in the dashiki.
WM30: What the hell was that?
AAF5060: It's an African ceremonial garment.
WM30: So why was he wearing it?
AAM30: He was interviewing that woman, what's her name?
WF40: Yeah, who was she?
MOD: National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice.
AsA50: But she was wearing a suit.
AAF5060: It doesn't matter what she was wearing. I think he looked super in the dashiki. The yellows and the reds and the star patterns . . . he just looked like Luther Vandross. I wanted to eat him up.
YWF: I thought he looked fat.
AAF5060: Yeah, he looked fat.
WM30: Yeah, he looked fat.
WF40: I agree. Pretty fat.
AAM30: Yeah, fat.
AsA50: Especially around the face.
TF: Yeah, a fat face.
PTM: Why did they give a fat gay guy his own show or whatever?
MOD: Moving on, how did you feel about the "Sharing and Caring" segment?
AAF5060: I thought it was very moving and very tastefully done. It showed restraint but it also showed how much the man cares.
WM30: Is that the part where he cried all over that Flight 93 widow?
MOD: I believe she was the guest during that segment, yes.
WM30: Oh, man, I hated that part.
WF40: I felt uncomfortable during that part.
MOD: Why did you feel that way?
WF40: Because he was like, crying. And she wasn't. It was like he felt worse about her husband's death than she did. It was weird. Plus he kept slipping his hand up her leg.
TF: Oh my God! I saw that! It was so totally gross!
WM30: Actually, that part I sort of thought was funny.
AsA50: It was strange when they hugged, though . . .
TF: For, like, an hour!
MOD: Why do you say it was strange?
AsA50: It looked like she was comforting him, I guess.
AAF5060: He felt bad about her husband! She was making him feel better!
AAM30: Yeah, but he was movin' those hands, man . . .
WM30: You gotta give him props for that, dude . . .
AAM30: That's right, dawg!
WM30: You don't shoot, you don't score, am I right?
AAM30: You are right!
MOD: If we can just get back to the show, how did we all feel about the mystery-celebrity segment?
PTM: Was that that other fat gay guy or whatever?
MOD: Rob Reiner is not gay.
PTM: What . . . ev . . . er.
TF: It was weird having two fat guys talking to each other about, like, not how fat they both are.
MOD: They were discussing current legislative initiatives involving child-care issues.
TF: Yeah. I guess.
AAF5060: I was fascinated by the high level of the discourse.
WM30: I was playing Solitaire on my cell phone.
YWF: I was kind of bored, I guess. I just kept asking myself, when is Emeril going to come out and cook that special pizza they said he was?
AAM30: That pizza looked good.
WM30: Yeah, I coulda used some of that pizza.
AsA50: All that cheese . . . delicious.
YWF: I made it last night for my boyfriend and he loved it!
PTM: Who is that guy, anyway?
MOD: Emeril Lagasse is a chef in New Orleans who—
PTM: No, I know who Emeril is. I mean the other guy.
MOD: Bill Clinton?
PTM: Yeah. Who is he again?
MOD: Perhaps it's time to end the session.
PTM: We get 50 bucks for this, right?

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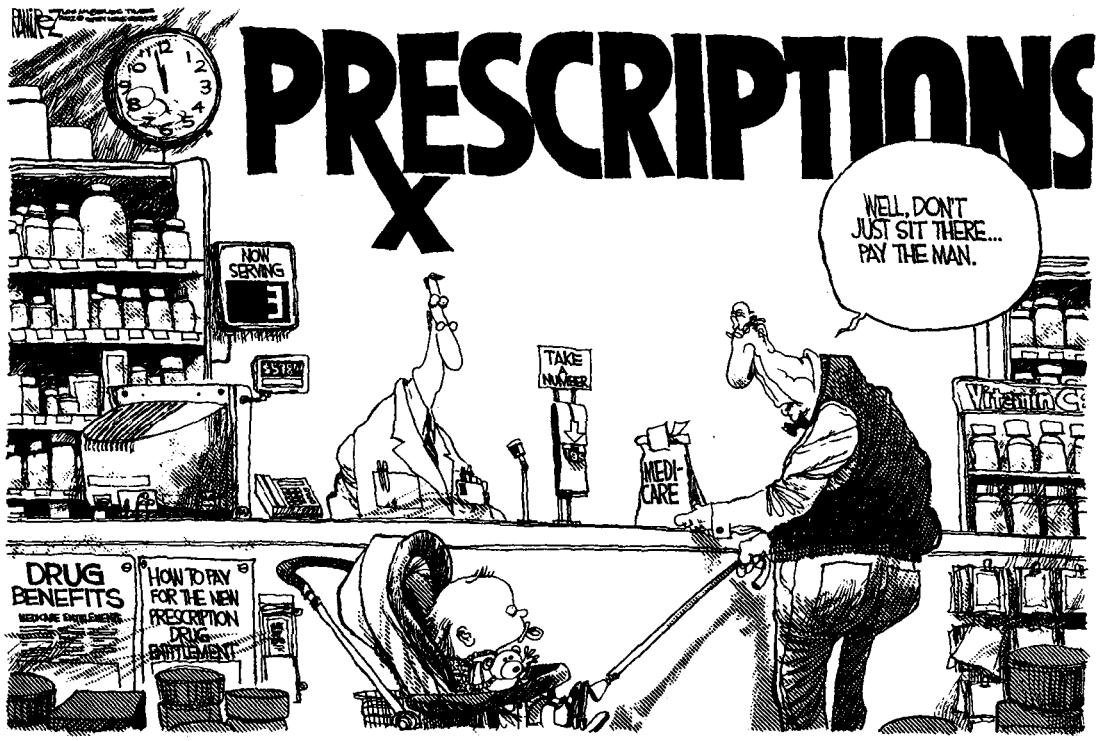

"What do you mean, I'm not trying? Every day, I check the mailbox for job offers."

The Steel Trap

Bush looked like Machiavelli
When, pleasuring Big Steel,
He elevated tariffs;
But the attendant squeal
From G.M., Ford, and Chrysler
(Maytag, too, raised a stink)
Leaves teetering House races
Still flirting with the brink.

—W. H. von Dreele

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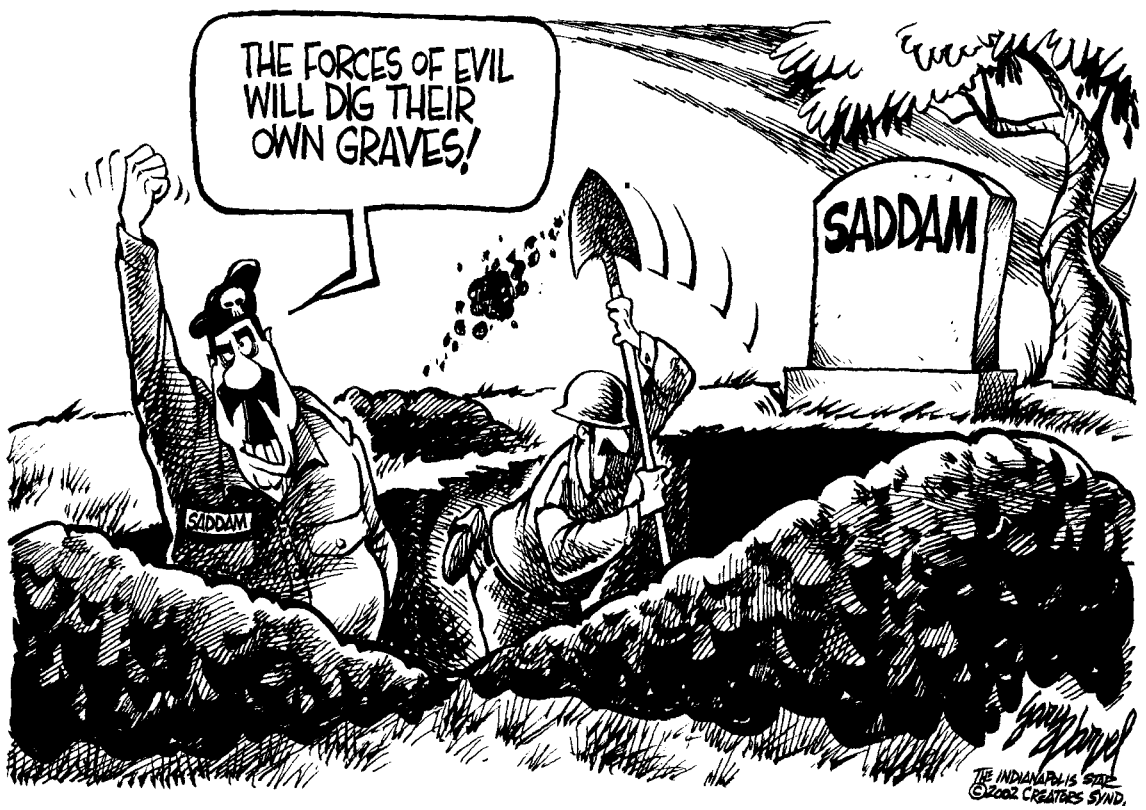
"ANOTHER BUSH-ADMINISTRATION, PRO-LOGGING, RIGHT-WING WACKO!"



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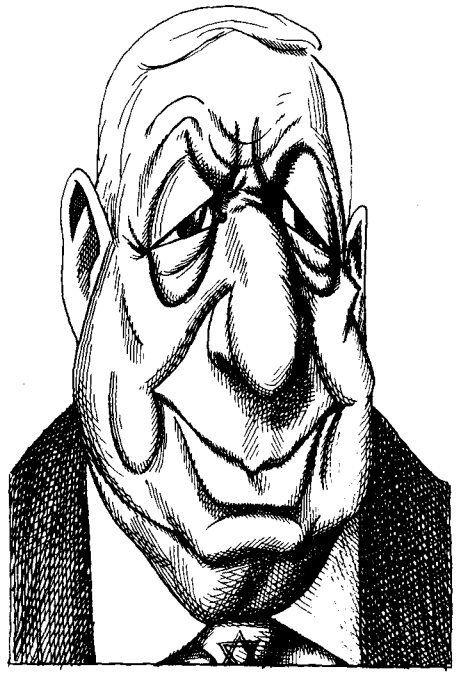
Who Is Ariel Sharon?

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

Sharon: Israel's Warrior-Politician, by Anita Miller, Jordan Miller, and Sigalit Zetouni (Academy Chicago, 400 pp., $30)

ISRAEL's prime minister Ariel Sharon has the looks of a *Tyrannosaurus rex*. And of course a baleful bloodthirsty monster is what Arabs generally think he is. He symbolizes everything they hate about Israel. Most days of the week, Yasser Arafat or his sidekicks bombard him with epithets like Nazi and racist and war criminal, and so do columnists and editorialists from Cairo to Riyadh to Baghdad, all of them naturally under government control. Western leftists demonize him in similar terms. The French left-wing paper *Libération* lately published a cartoon of Sharon as a kosher butcher slaughtering Arafat. Accusing him of war crimes, the BBC staged a mock trial on television. Some magistrate in Brussels wanted him brought before Belgian justice, itself a comic turn among the nations. It's safe to say that for these politically correct mouthpieces Sharon has an even uglier reputation than Saddam Hussein.

Since its inception, the state of Israel has had to defend its right to exist. The Arab neighbors may establish armistice lines or even sign treaties, but as a whole they balk at accepting Israel's legitimacy, and attack with regular armies or guerrilla forces as occasion arises. The Left hopes to appease this intransigence through the holy grail of a peace process, in the expectation that concession and withdrawal in one sphere or another will generate the indispensable goodwill. Contradictorily, the Right believes that only an unyielding Israel will eventually persuade the Arabs that the costs of their military adventures are too high. The more the Arabs attack, in this view, the worse off they must find themselves. (In the words Dickens put into the mouth of a French aristocrat in *A Tale of Two Cities*, "Repression is the only lasting philosophy.")



By Roman Genn

The current intifada is testing to the maximum the tension between these two approaches. Does Sharon really have only a lasting philosophy of repression? Or is he carrying within himself some vision of Israel finally at peace—and, if so, what form does this take? These questions require an immediate answer.

These biographers are very sparing with personal information that might offer clues, as if they couldn't quite trust themselves to handle so controversial a character. They do not appear to have had any special access to Sharon or those around him; they do not identify his close friends and have very few quotes from anyone who has ever known him. They turn exclusively to printed sources for their information and—more surprisingly—for their opinions. Objectivity is the book's keynote.

Sharon's luck, or ill luck, was to be born in 1928, and his entire adult life has therefore been spent in the turbulence of the state's formation and survival. His parents had fled from the Communist revolution in their native Russia, to settle as pioneers on a farm in the early days of the British Mandate of Palestine. They seem to have been an unsociable and abrasive couple, and their son to be a chip off the same block. In this portrait, he is coldly intelligent, ambitious but remote, locked into himself without charm or humor. (At least he enjoys music.) He has experienced much tragedy. His first wife died in a car crash, and their eleven-year-old son was killed by a playmate in a freak accident with an antique shotgun. Sharon married his wife's sister, and she died not long ago of cancer. Heritage and circumstances have taught him to go his own way.

Evidently he was a natural soldier and leader. Since his youth, the abiding question has been how to secure the borders of Israel, first from freelance infiltrators, later from invading armies. Moshe Dayan was among contemporaries and colleagues critical of Sharon, and the two of them engaged in lifelong rivalry. Nevertheless in 1953 Dayan appointed him commander of an elite force known as Unit 101, recognizing that he was "superior in his ability to think." Unit 101 was responsible for raids against saboteurs and guerrillas behind Arab lines.

During one such raid, in the Jor-

Mr. Pryce-Jones is an NR senior editor whose books include *The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs*, available from Ivan R. Dee.

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danian village of Qibya, the unit blew up houses before checking that the inhabitants were out. Sixty-nine civilians were killed. The world was shocked and indeed continues to hold it against him, but according to these biographers Sharon felt that the raid had had a "strong, positive effect" on civilian and military morale.

Promoted steadily, Sharon played an important part in the set-piece wars provoked by Gamal Abdel Nasser and Anwar Sadat and their allies. In broad terms, Sharon has always believed that Arabs are brave and effective soldiers, but handicapped by weaknesses of organization. It was imperative therefore to exploit those weaknesses by rapid movement, preferably attacking from the rear to create surprise. In the aftermath of the 1967 war, he was opposed to building the so-called Bar Lev line along the occupied right bank of the Suez Canal, on the grounds that such a static position failed to take advantage of the Israelis' remarkable capacities of improvisation and mobility.

Events were to prove him right. The 1973 war tested Israeli intelligence and military power as no other war did. To be personal for a moment, as a war correspondent I happened to arrive at the pontoon bridge thrown over the Suez Canal in time to witness Sharon leading his tanks across to the left bank, from where he could have advanced on Cairo. Sitting in the open turret of a tank, in a very visible white shirt, he looked like someone enjoying a sporting event. It was his finest hour.

Until the 1967 and 1973 wars Israel had been widely perceived as a socialist state, and it was therefore *comme il faut* to worry about its fate and to dispatch teenagers to work on some kibbutz. The Egyptians, Syrians, and Arafat's PLO had been proxies of the Soviet Union, and their defeat by Israel checked Soviet influence in the Middle East, contributing to the overall outcome of the Cold War. Israel is occupying Arab territories only because it was attacked from them. Sharon did not initiate the policy of building settlements there but he believes that it obliges the Arabs to pay for their mistakes. Whether or not this is wise in itself, the occupation of the territories also allowed the Soviet Union to wage one of its last and most successful political campaigns, putting out incessant worldwide propaganda that Israel was imperialist, what's more a tool of the United States, and so forfeited its right to a place on the map. Here was a manipulation of public opinion of the kind Orwell called a "Two Minute Hate," and its malign effect still conditions the present animus against Israel in general, and focuses the accusation of imperialism on Sharon in particular.

■

Sharon had always argued that Oslo was a cover behind which Arafat was preparing for war.

■

The biographers do not hide Sharon's failures. At one point he tried to launch a political party of his own, Shlomzion, no doubt because he felt in competition with Menachem Begin, Dayan, and indeed every contender in sight. The Lebanese Phalange under Elie Hobeika carried out the Sabra and Shatila massacres in 1982. As minister of defense, Sharon was responsible for the nearby Israeli forces, which could have intervened to stop the Phalange. Absolute yet misplaced confidence in his own abilities had allowed Sharon to pursue a grand strategy without paying attention to the detail. This was his worst hour.

By 2000, already past 70, he should have retired to his farm. His political opportunity arose when Arafat that September chose to renew the intifada. Sharon had always argued loudly and obstinately that the Oslo peace process was a cover behind which Arafat was preparing for war. Apparently proved right by the outbreak of the intifada, and at the same time lucky in the dogfighting of Likud, his political party, he was elected prime minister.

The biographers devote half this very long book to his less than two years in office. In detail, repetitively, and at the expense of all other issues, they gazette the actions and reactions of the two sides during this intifada, duly padded out with press commentary. The disproportion altogether unbalances what is supposed to be a biography.

Palestinians are under the widespread illusion that suicide bombing is a tactic that must eventually lead to the long-sought downfall of the Israeli state. Their religious and nationalist frenzy is at least as great a threat to their own society as it is to Israel. Against expectations and in spite of propaganda to the contrary, Sharon has been moderate so far in his response, evidently out of the conviction that Israel must take one carefully calibrated step at a time to raise the cost of terror, until—one hopes—the moment comes when the Palestinians refrain from their own self-destruction. For him, it is still a matter of secure borders, as it has been all his life. The majority of Israelis share this perspective and approve of Sharon, according to polls. Fifty years after his first combats, he is still having a "strong, positive effect" on morale.

For the present, it seems unlikely that any Palestinians will come forward with an alternative that would encourage Israel to replace repression with compromise and a resumption of genuine political negotiation. Whether Sharon is right or wrong in his approach, whether repression breeds only resistance, are topics upon which these biographers pass no judgments. They simply break off their narrative with a brief and neutral mumbling about "complex problems." Objectivity is all very fine, but this book is too close to copping out to be the guide that it should have been in this time of crisis. **NR**

THE BLACKBIRD

What small throat,
What gold beak
Hurled that note
    Across the day?
A blackbird on
A glittering spray
Hurled it out
    Across Lock Leigh

—ANONYMOUS
(11th-century Irish monastic poem translated by Richard O'Connell)

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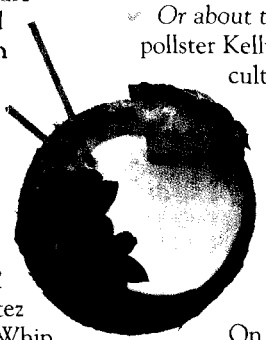
THE NATIONAL REVIEW 2002 POST-ELECTION MEXICO CRUISE

Sailing November 16–23 aboard Holland America's MS *Ryndam* with

KENNETH STARR, MILTON FRIEDMAN, WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR, ARTHUR LAFFER, KATE O'BEIRNE, RICH LOWRY, CAL THOMAS, KELLYANNE CONWAY, JAY NORDLINGER, DINESH D'SOUZA, RAMESH PONNURU; TOM DELAY AND DAN QUAYLE ALSO EXPECTED

Here's your special opportunity to take part in one of the most exciting seafaring adventures you will ever experience: the ***National Review* 2002 Post-Election Mexico Cruise**. Featuring an incredible cast of conservative celebrity speakers—and extremely affordable accommodations—this special trip will take place November 16–23, 2002, aboard Holland America Line's stunning MS *Ryndam*.

This is a *unique* opportunity to meet America's most preeminent conservative celebrities: "Definites" for this special voyage are Judge **Kenneth Starr**, economists **Milton Friedman** and **Arthur Laffer**, columnist **Cal Thomas**, author **Dinesh D'Souza**, and ace pollster **Kellyanne Conway**. They'll be joining *NR* founder **William F. Buckley Jr.**, Editor **Rich Lowry**, Washington Editor **Kate O'Beirne**, Senior Editor **Ramesh Ponnuru**, and Managing Editor **Jay Nordlinger** for a relaxing week of political shop-talk, conservative revelry, and world-class cruising.



Also "strongly interested" in joining the hundreds of *NR* readers who'll take our trip to the sun-drenched Sea of Cortez are former Vice President **Dan Quayle** and House Majority Whip **Tom DeLay**. Without question, that's an *incredible* line-up.

Not only will our Mexico sojourn feature a spectacular speaker ensembles—it will also be the most affordable *NR* voyage ever (this will be our 12th!). If you've never been on an *NR* cruise make this your *first:* Prices start at an *incredibly* low $1,999!

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- Where does one even begin to ask Ken Starr questions?!
- Who better than renowned Nobel Prize-winning economist Milton Friedman and Arthur Laffer—the man behind that most famous of curves—to discuss America's fiscal health?!
- Can you get better insight on the Bush administration and the prosecution of the War on Terrorism than from Dan Quayle?!
- Or about what's *really* happening on Capitol Hill than from Tom DeLay?!
- *Or* about the public's mood on major issues than from ace pollster Kellyanne Fitzpatrick?!—*or* better analysis on America's culture conflicts than from columnist Cal Thomas or author Dinesh D'Souza?!

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A FANTASTIC WEEK OF FUN, SUN, AND CONSERVATIVE REVELRY

DAY/DATE	PORT	ARRIVE	DEPART	SPECIAL EVENTS
Sat/Nov. 16	San Diego		6:00PM	
Sun/Nov. 17	AT SEA			afternoon seminar evening cocktail reception
Mon/Nov. 18	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars late-night poolside smoker
Tues/Nov. 19	Loreto	7:00AM	5:00PM	
Wed/Nov. 20	Pichilingue/La Paz	8:00AM	6:00PM	evening cocktail reception
Thur/Nov. 21	Cabo San Lucas	7:00AM	4:00PM	afternoon seminar late-night smoker
Fri/Nov. 22	AT SEA			afternoon seminar evening cocktail reception
Sat/Nov. 23	San Diego	8:00AM		

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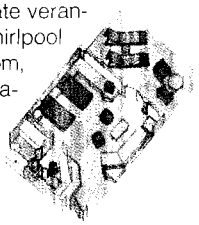

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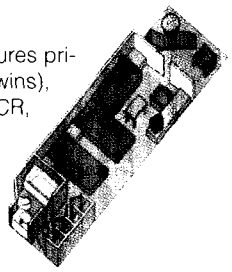

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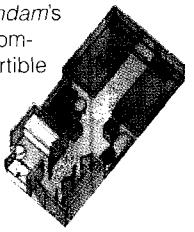

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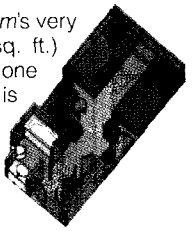

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LORETO: *Frommer's Mexico 2002* guide puts it best: Loreto "is a rare gem that sparkles under the desert sky. Here, the purple hues of the Giganta Mountains meet the indigo waters of the Sea of Cortez, providing a spectacular backdrop of natural contrasts for the town's historical past." Site of the first mission in the Californias (*Mision Nuestra Señora de Loreto* and *Museo de las Misiones* are must-sees) and the first European settlement on the Baja, Loreto remains, says *Frommer's*, "the wonderfully funky fishing village and well-kept secret that it has been for decades."

LA PAZ/PICHILINGUE: "La Paz," says *Frommer's*, "means 'peace,' and the feeling seems to float on the ocean breezes" here. It "remains slow-paced and relaxed . . . an easy-going sophisticated city and the guardian of 'old Baja' atmosphere, with beautiful deserted beaches just minutes away that compliment the lively beach and malecón that fronts the town center." Best known from John Steinbeck's *The Pearl*, La Paz—a haven for kayaking, fishing, and diving (you can even swim with sea lions off Espíritu Santo and Los Islotes)—is "the undisputed adventure capital of Baja."

CABO SAN LUCAS: Once renowned for big-game fishing, Cabo San Lucas is now a mecca for golf (there are Jack Nicklaus- and Robert Trent Jones-designed courses here—we'll be setting up an exclusive *NR* outing for any wanna-duffers), kayaking, and superior "R&R"-ing on gorgeous beaches.

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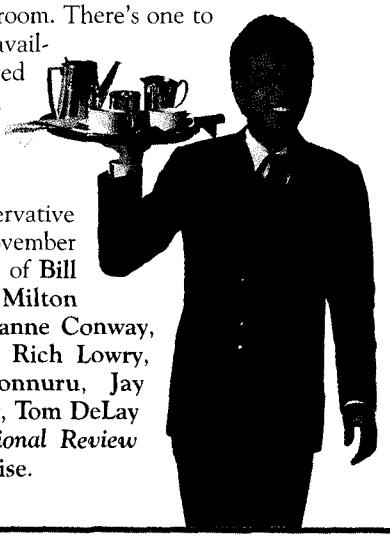

Take part in a truly special conservative event. Join us in Mexico this November on the *Ryndam*, in the company of **Bill Buckley, Kenneth Starr, Milton Friedman, Arthur Laffer, Kellyanne Conway, Cal Thomas, Dinesh D'Souza, Rich Lowry, Kate O'Beirne, Ramesh Ponnuru, Jay Nordlinger**, and, we're confident, **Tom DeLay** and **Dan Quayle**—on the ***National Review* 2002 Post-Election Mexico Cruise.**

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Name #2 (full legal name) + Nickname _____ Shirt size (M/L/XL) _____

Names #3 & #4 (if taking others in your cabin) _____

Street Mailing Address _____

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Daytime Phone _____

Special Information (medical conditions, celebrating anniversary, etc.) _____

Payment

A deposit of $700 per cabin is due with this application. Cabins and categories are available on a first come, first served basis. *Suites are limited!*

☐ My deposit of $350 per person is included.
(Make checks payable to "National Review Cruise")

☐ Charge to: AmEx ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover

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Cruise

(All rates are per person, double occupancy, and include all port charges and taxes, all gratuities, meals, entertainment, and *National Review* activities. Cruise-only rates include all of above except airfare and transfers. Failure to appear for embarkation for any reason constitutes a cancellation subject to full penalties. Personal items not included.)

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First cabin category choice:_____ Second cabin category choice:_____

Bedding: Beds made up as ☐ Twin ☐ King/Queen

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☐ We will provide our own roundtrip air and transfers to and from San Diego.
☐ Include air with our package from _____ (see list below).
☐ We need to purchase transfers from the airport to the ship at $20 per person.

III. GENERAL INFORMATION

CITIZENSHIP: Is everyone a U.S. citizen? ☐ Yes ☐ No
If No, indicate citizenship: _____
DINING: I wish to dine with _____

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Faithful Reason

M.D. AESCHLIMAN

A Mind's Matter: An Intellectual Autobiography, by Stanley L. Jaki (Eerdmans, 328 pp., $25)

SINCE the publication of his breakthrough book, *The Relevance of Physics*, in 1966, Stanley Jaki has generated a body of intellectual work that is perhaps unequaled over the last third of a century in range, magnitude, learning, and importance. An émigré who came to the U.S. from Hungary—via Rome—after World War II, he has written over 40 books and dozens of essays, introductions, and encyclopedia articles, and received some of the highest intellectual honors, including the Templeton Prize (1987). He has delivered two series of Gifford Lectures at the University of Edinburgh, and Fremantle and Farmington Institute Lectures at Oxford. He has been intermittently associated with Princeton.

Yet a certain pathos and irony characterize this enormous accomplishment, whose nobility and power they only enhance. For Jaki's work on the history and philosophy of science—and his examination of the relation of science to religion, theology, ethics, philosophy, and culture—has been steadily resisted and is far from receiving the attention and credit it deserves. His work has been the object of envy, neglect, and hostility; he has also been the victim of plagiarism, as a kind of cruel compliment.

Since World War II there has been no more learned, profound, or judicious guide than Jaki to the increasingly important questions that are indicated by phrases such as "the two cultures" and

Mr. Aeschliman is professor of education at Boston University, adjunct professor of English at the University of Italian Switzerland, and author of *The Restitution of Man: C. S. Lewis and the Case Against Scientism.*

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"qualitative and quantitative." A high literary standard of discussion of these themes was set in the Anglophone world in the 19th century by Matthew Arnold, J. S. Mill, John Henry Newman, and T. H. Huxley. Learned and supple minds sharpened their wits and pens on these issues and shed much valuable light on them in the 20th century: One thinks of Alfred North Whitehead, Aldous Huxley, Michael Polanyi, C. S. Lewis, Jacques Maritain, Hans Jonas, Jacques Barzun, Gertrude Himmelfarb, and Leon Kass.

But a familiarity with much of this valuable literature only increases one's admiration of Jaki's accomplishment and one's regret at the intense opposition and studious neglect it has encountered. Recently Jacques Barzun wrote, with Swiftian understatement, that the penalties imposed by the current regime of political correctness "have been mild—opprobrium, loss of employment, and virtual exclusion from the profession." Jaki's great offense against this intellectual establishment is that he is skeptical about modern cultural and intellectual currents, espousing instead an articulate, combative Christian rationalism.

Perhaps because he was born and raised in Hungary and lived under both Nazis and Communists, Jaki—a Benedictine priest—has apparently never subscribed to the most widespread and pervasive ideology of the 20th century, both on the left and on the right: the idea of a cumulative, inevitable, and irreversible human progress, built on and primarily powered by discoveries in science and innovations in technology. It was another continental European émigré, the German-Jewish Leo Strauss, who perhaps put this point most clearly and unanswerably. "The idea of progress in the modern sense," Strauss wrote after World War II, "implies that once man has reached a certain level, intellectual and moral or social, there exists a firm level of being below which he cannot sink. This contention, however, is empirically refuted by the incredible barbarization which we have been so unfortunate as to witness in our century."

One need not be a specialist in the history of science such as Jaki or a political philosopher such as Strauss to recognize the truth of this assertion, but Jaki's reinterpretation of the history of science has proved particularly unnerving or offensive to believers in the "Whig interpretation of history." These latter have, consciously or unconsciously, used the history of science as a means of attacking and demoting the ethical legacy transmitted to the modern world by Judaism and Christianity in their centuries-long deliberation on and dialogue with each other and with the great tradition of classical moral rationalism inaugurated by Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle.

Though himself vastly learned in mathematics, physics, and astronomy—he did his Ph.D. in physics under a Nobel laureate—Jaki insists that "the scientific method [provides] no guidelines for the proper handling of the awesome tools science provides." This insight was bitterly resisted and widely denied in the 20th century, perhaps most banefully by Lenin and the now-defunct Bolshevik "scientific socialism"—Michael Polanyi reproached the ill-fated Bolshevik theoretician Bukharin about it in the 1920s—but also, insidiously and influentially, by apparently well-meaning secular-liberal "humanist" science-worshippers such as John Dewey. "Science without conscience is the death of the soul," Rabelais wrote nearly 500 years ago, but this sturdy truth is today implicitly or explicitly denied by the Darwinians in fields such as biogenetics, not to mention many garden-variety science teachers. They are ignorant of and impatient with the very idea and tradition of moral reasoning; they assume that ethics is simply a utilitarian afterthought to or rationalization of science, and has no independent source or validity. As the Nobel laureate Enrico Fermi brutally but revealingly put it, "Whatever Nature has in store for mankind, unpleasant as it may be, men must accept."

Jaki's work over the past 35 years has consisted largely of the most painstaking, meticulous, detailed, and appreciative studies of the works and accomplishments of great scientists. It is impossible to write more appreciatively and learnedly of Copernicus or Newton, of Duhem, Planck, or Einstein, and of a host of other scientific giants, than Jaki has. Nor is he dismissive of the benefits of modern technology; but a constant theme, like a mounting *basso continuo* in his story, is the destructive modern emergence of "the cult of the quantitative method known as scientism, physicalism, and reductionism," leading to what C. S. Lewis called in a lapidary phrase "the abolition of man."

A Mind's Matter is an immensely valuable and detailed documentary survey of Jaki's intellectual development, his *itinerarium mentis in veritatem*, with summaries of his major arguments and books and very moving if somber estimates of our current cultural quandary. Jaki writes with some of the authority and prophetic insight of two other great Eastern Europeans, the writers Czeslaw Milosz and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. Like many grateful immigrants to the U.S. (Strauss, Milosz, and Barzun are examples), he deplores many of the developments in this country since the 1960s but remains loyal to the promise and partial reality of civilized life in this republic.

Rightly giving great credit to Pope John Paul II and the Poles for initiating the overthrow of Communism, he worries about the perverse destructiveness of a twisted Western understanding of liberalism that can no longer distinguish it from libertinism, license, and relativism: Liberalism, he says, has become "the continuing abolition of . . . clear contours, norms, and practices." Most fundamentally, he deplores theological liberalism—arguing that "the efforts of liberals ultimately aim at the abolition of clear distinction between the natural and the supernatural." For Jaki (as for the central tradition of Western metaphysics and theology), reason, conscience, will, and language are the essence of moral humanity, and they are not subordinate to, or generated or determined by, any physical, measurable quantity whatsoever. Thought and language are metaphysical, and Jaki loves to quote E. A. Burtt's assertion that "the only way to avoid metaphysics is to say nothing."

Non-specialist newcomers to Jaki's magnificent body of work can profitably start with this exceptional volume of intellectual autobiography. Those who already admire him will wish to own it. But both should also acquire his 1999 *Means to Message: A Treatise on Truth*, a concise masterpiece of scholarship and lucid argument that is at once an invaluable philosophical primer, an introduction to the history of science, and a powerfully original piece of speculative philosophy. **NR**

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Not Quite Copernicus

JOHN DERBYSHIRE

A New Kind of Science, by Stephen Wolfram (Wolfram Media, 1,197 pp., $44.95)

I CONSIDER Stephen Wolfram to be a great benefactor of humanity. The foundation for this opinion is that I am a daily user of the Mathematica software package, Wolfram's brainchild and the source of his considerable fortune. This wonderful tool allows me to do experimental mathematics, of a type that would have been impossible as little as 15 years ago without much wearisome programming. I can try out formulas, conjectures, and theorems with actual numbers to see what they turn up; I can plot graphs in two and three dimensions; I can factorize, differentiate, integrate, solve equations, invert matrices, and extract eigenvalues to my happy heart's content.

As well as having created this splendid product and made himself rich by astutely marketing it, Wolfram is impressively credentialed as a working scientist. He was a child prodigy, publishing his first paper on particle physics at age 15, going on to acquire a Ph.D. from Caltech when he was just 20, and proceeding quickly to important results in quantum field theory and cosmology. Stephen Wolfram is, without much doubt, one of the smartest people on the planet.

All of which leaves us with a very interesting question: Why has this undoubtedly brilliant, worthily successful man written such a silly book?

To get any further with this review, I shall have to try to tell you what *A New Kind of Science* is about. It is about *cellular automata*. Imagine—or, better yet, place in front of you—a sheet of graph paper marked off in tiny squares. Using a pencil, black in as many as you please of the top row of squares. You can just black in one square if you like. That top row is now complete. Now black in squares on the *second* row according to some rule. Here is a possible rule: Take each second-row square in turn, and look at the three first-row squares above it—the one directly above, and the ones to left and right above. If all three are black, or none are, or only the left-above one is, leave your second-row square empty. Otherwise, black it in. When you've finished marking up squares in the second row, do the third according to the same rule, now using the second row as your reference row. Repeat until you have worked your way down to the bottom of the sheet, and it is covered with a pattern of black and white squares.

You are looking at a cellular automaton. If you can't be bothered to carry out the exercise, pick up a copy of *A New Kind of Science* in your local bookstore and browse pages 32–38, where 3,200

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rows of this particular automaton are shown, starting with a single black square in the first row. Plainly the pattern you see is determined by two things: the way you marked up the first row, and the rule you applied for generating subsequent rows.

Why is this interesting? Because the patterns generated by these cellular automata are more complex than they have any right to be, given the simplicity of the generating rules. The particular rule I used above—Wolfram calls it "Rule 110"—was expressed in 50 words; yet it generates strange, never-repeating patterns, in which long stretches of apparent regularity are suddenly, unpredictably fractured into randomness, then mysteriously restored. That "unpredictably" is a precise mathematical term. There is no shortcut, no formula, to tell you what the 3,000th row will look like. You just have to run the darn thing through 3,000 iterations of the rule.

That's good for half an hour's entertainment on a rainy day, and cellular automata have been doodled with in recreational-math circles since the 1950s; but "a new kind of science"? What's *that* all about? Well, consider the universe at large. At some point in time, it—all its untold bazillions of particles—is in a certain configuration. At some later instant, it is in a different configuration. How did it get from the one state to the other? The traditional answer is: by obeying certain very complicated physical laws, which you need a ton of calculus and a truckload of algebra to understand. No, no, says Wolfram: *It's a cellular automaton!*

Or consider biological evolution. At a certain point in its history, the typical member of a certain species has such-and-such a genetic code. A million years later, it has a different one. How did it evolve from the first to the second? By natural selection working on random mutations, says traditional biology. Wolfram is shaking his head again: *cellular automaton!*

It's not just physics and biology: Wolfram sees cellular automata everywhere. Computer science, mathematics, philosophy, psychology, cryptography . . . *cellular automata!* That's the whole thing; that's the 1,197 pages. A good proportion of them are filled with pictures of cellular automata doing their peculiar thing; the rest are occupied by prose of excruciating badness, which Wolfram justifies in an appendix. (There are *over 340 pages* of those, by the way.) He has, he tells us airily, not only invented a new kind of science, but a new kind of science writing, too. The man's vanity is staggering. "I fully expect that some of the terms and concepts I use . . . will end up seeming dated in a few decades." People will still be poring over this book, you see, in the year 2082, still turning up hitherto-unnoticed nuggets of truth in it, gasping with astonishment as they do so.

■

What science mainly requires of a theory is predictive power.

■

I think it more likely that the book will be forgotten in a few months. What science mainly requires of a theory is predictive power. Since the outcomes of the more interesting cellular automata are, as I pointed out above, essentially and mathematically *un*predictable, this requirement opens a nasty epistemological hole in the entire schema. What would be the equivalent of the observations made during the 1919 solar eclipse, which dramatically confirmed Einstein's general theory of relativity? The author offers no ideas.

Even where this book is at its strongest, in the section on fundamental physics, while Wolfram's ideas might just possibly be true at some level, they do not explain anything that is not already quite adequately explained. In the life sciences, not even this much can be said. The complexity that Wolfram's cellular automata exhibit is actually nothing like the complexity of living organisms, in which entire systems—circulatory, lymphatic, digestive, nervous—nourish and support each other.

This whole ludicrous farrago was cooked up during ten years when the author shut himself in his study with his gadgets for long hours, running his business by videoconference, publishing nothing in peer-reviewed journals—he scoffs at peer review, in his preface—and accepting no help from proofreaders or editors. He has published and promoted the book himself, using his own company.

It shows. Among the dark companions of overweening Vanity are Carelessness and its infant offspring, Error. Wolfram's sphere of knowledge is much wider than mine, but there is a modest overlap; and when he is writing about something I know well, he is often wrong. "In the late 1960s and early 1970s, there developed the notion of operating systems . . ." This will be interesting news to surviving programmers of the IBM 1400 series (1960), the Leo III (1961—the operating system was named "GEORGE"), and the Burroughs D825 (1962). Incredibly, Wolfram even makes mistakes when writing about Mathematica. Speaking of the distribution of prime numbers, he says: "A somewhat better approximation is *LogIntegral[n]*, equal to *Integrate[1/Log[t],{t,2,n}]*." The second of those expressions is indeed one way to define the logarithmic integral—the "continental" way, favored by Landau and other German number theorists. Unfortunately, Mathematica uses the "American" definition, which integrates from 0, not from 2, rendering Wolfram's "equal to" false. (I checked, in a conversation with Mathematica on this point. Taking $n=12$, I asked Mathematica to evaluate *LogIntegral[n]*. It returned the answer: 7.00055. I then asked Mathematica to evaluate *Integrate[1/Log[t],{t,2,n}]*. Back came the answer: 5.95538.)

So: Is Wolfram, as he plainly believes, the new Copernicus? Or is he merely a new Darwin or Einstein? Well, if it's comparisons you are seeking, the one that occurred to me was the astronomer in Dr. Johnson's *Rasselas*, who, after years of intense, solitary intellection, went quietly nuts. As Johnson wrote:

> In time some particular train of ideas fixes the attention, all other intellectual gratifications are rejected, the mind, in weariness or leisure, recurs constantly to the favorite conception, and feasts on the luscious falsehood whenever she is offended with the bitterness of truth.

The universe a vast cellular automaton? As Diderot remarked in a similar case: "Nothing is that simple; certainly not *everything*!" **NR**

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A Thinker's Progress

STEVEN LENZNER

Leo Strauss: The Early Writings, 1921–1932, translated and edited by Michael Zank (SUNY, 238 pp., $22.95)

THE achievement of Leo Strauss has in recent years begun to be generally recognized even by those who did not have the privilege of studying with him or with his students. In 1959, Willmoore Kendall identified Strauss as "*the* great teacher of political philosophy, not of our time alone, but of any time since Machiavelli"; the rest of the world is starting to catch up with Kendall's assessment.

Mr. Lenzner recently completed his doctoral dissertation, "Leo Strauss and the Problem of Freedom of Thought," at Harvard.

Over the past 15 years some 20 books have been written on Strauss. The most striking feature of this mini-explosion of scholarship is the sheer range of positions attributed to him. Given that Strauss has been portrayed as almost everything from a pious Jew to a closet Nietzschean, one could be forgiven for believing that all that can be said about him with confidence is that he was not a Communist, an advocate of German imperialism, or a Christian fundamentalist. Though much of this recent scholarship is of dubious value, the increased attention to Strauss has had the positive result of making accessible many hitherto uncollected Strauss writings, some unpublished ones, and his correspondence with such leading contemporaries as Gershom Scholem and Alexandre Kojève. Much of the credit belongs to the monumental editorial labors of Heinrich Meier, who has been editing the German edition of Strauss's "collected writings" (three large volumes, so far).

Unfortunately, a project similar in scope to Meier's has not yet been undertaken in English; there have, however, been more modest efforts, to which Michael Zank's new translation of Strauss's early writings is a valuable addition. Zank's volume is "intended as a contribution to the study of the origins of the political philosophy of Leo Strauss," and it accomplishes that task. Zank places at the reader's disposal the young Strauss's passionate advocacy of political Zionism and his early confrontations with Spinoza, consideration of whom helped lead Strauss to formulate his teaching on "the quarrel

Willmoore Kendall identified Strauss as 'the great teacher of political philosophy.'

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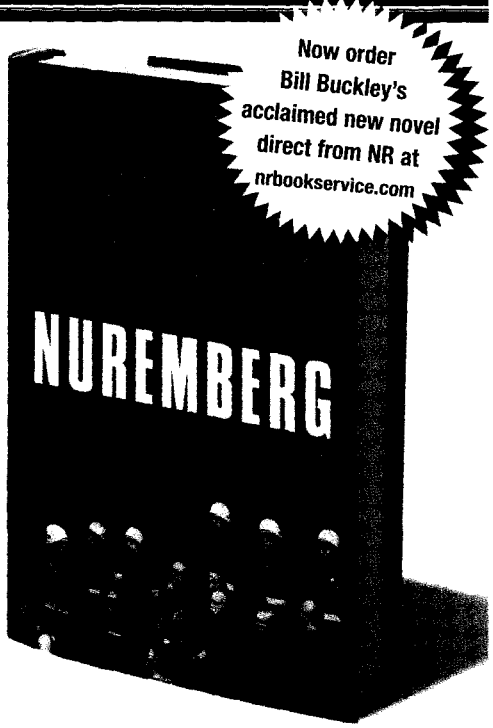

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between the ancients and the moderns."

Zank's lengthy introduction, however, does Strauss—and the reader—a disservice. He attempts to discover an essential continuity throughout Strauss's work, and in doing so he occasionally crosses the bounds of the plausible. To take the most important example: In 1932, Strauss wrote of a "change of orientation" that enabled him to overcome "the premise, sanctioned by powerful prejudices, that a return to premodern philosophy was impossible" and made him "ever more attentive to the manner in which heterodox thinkers of earlier ages wrote their books." Zank suggests that this famous change of orientation is more apparent than real: "While the phase of reorientation is characterized by a withdrawal from political participation for the sake of retrieving . . . the Platonic tradition, [Strauss's] earliest essays are permeated by the no less Platonic hope that Zionism might afford one of those rare moments when the philosopher might be king. To put it somewhat paradoxically, then: If there is a turn in the writings of the early Strauss, it is one from Plato to Plato."

But, in fact, one looks in vain in Strauss's writings of the 1920s for the name Plato. Furthermore, political Zionism was by its own account emphatically hard-headed; it sought not a perfectly just political order, but merely one in which the Jewish people could live in a state concretely no different from any other decent state. And as for the "Platonic hope" for the actualization of philosophic rule, it suffices to quote from Strauss's *The City and Man*: "The just city is not possible because of the philosophers' unwillingness to rule."

Zank's errors extend beyond this attempt at harmonizing Strauss's work. He asserts, for example, that "as a political philosopher" in the early 1930s, "Strauss cannot deny the right of the German 'national uprising'" then being led by the Nazis; but this assertion is simply untrue. In this respect there is no difference between the young Strauss and the one from the 1950s, who declared: "Passionate political action against [Nazism and fascism] is absolutely in order."

Finally, one must object to Zank's identification of Biblical revelation as what Strauss called the artificial cave, one that is beneath the original cave described by Plato from which men have to ascend to the light of the sun. In fact, for Strauss, that second, accidental cave was historicism—the doctrine that considers all men and all thoughts to be, in essence, the products of their time. Strauss's greatest work, *Thoughts on Machiavelli*, indicates how misleading it is to equate that image of the second cave with revelation: "The Bible sets forth the demands of morality and religion in their purest and most intransigent form." From Strauss's point of view, revelation is not an unfortunate second cave but rather the perfection of the first cave and, as such, the most serious alternative to philosophy.

■

Reliance on authority is fatal to philosophy, which must take nothing for granted.

■

It was actually Strauss's attempt to liberate himself from historicism that culminated in his rediscovery of the premodern practice of exoteric writing. An exoteric writing conceals an author's genuine "esoteric" teaching beneath an external teaching that is acceptable to conventional authorities. Such writing is not, however, chiefly animated by a philosopher's desire to avoid the wrath of authority: This, according to Strauss, is only "the most obvious and the crudest reason" for its existence. Far more important, from the philosopher's point of view, are the broader purposes such writing serves: philosophic education and genuine freedom of thought. As Strauss wrote:

> By making the discovered truth almost as inaccessible as it was before it had been discovered [the philosophic writers of the past] prevented—to call a vulgar thing by a vulgar name—the cheap sale of the formulations of the truth: nobody should know even the formulations of the truth who had not rediscovered the truths by his own exertions, if aided by subtle suggestions from a superior teacher. It is in this way that the classical authors became the most efficient teachers of independent thinking.

To begin to understand the profound influence this discovery of exotericism had upon Strauss's thought and work, it is useful to contrast his earliest treatment of Maimonides's *Guide of the Perplexed*—"On the Bible Science of Spinoza and His Precursors," in *The Early Writings*—with his great Maimonidean essay, "How To Begin To Study *The Guide of the Perplexed*." In the earlier essay, Strauss wrote that for Maimonides "all theoretical investigation moves in a horizon ruled and limited by *authorities*." Once he rediscovered exotericism, however, Strauss came to see that Maimonides's bow to authority was provisional, so much so that in the later essay he identified as the *Guide*'s primary intention the liberation of its "typical addressee" from all authority in order to allow him to become "a genuine man of speculation." Reliance on authority is fatal to philosophy: It is of the essence of philosophy to take nothing for granted. In *Natural Right and History*, his most famous work, Strauss identifies "the distinction by which philosophy stands or falls" as "the distinction between reason and authority":

> By submitting to authority, philosophy, in particular political philosophy, would lose its character; it would degenerate into ideology, i.e., apologetics for a given social or emerging social order, or it would undergo a transformation into theology or legal learning.

The first task of philosophic education must be the freeing of the student from this reliance. Strauss's emphasis on "the literary question" in his writings on Maimonides, as well as others, is dedicated to this end. By teaching students how they must read the great philosophic authors if they wish to understand them, Strauss facilitates the transition—at least for a few—from reliance upon authority to genuine freedom of thought. This is precisely the reason Kendall was moved to call Strauss "*the* great teacher"; and *The Early Writings* helps us to understand Strauss's development toward this philosophic greatness. **NR**

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■ FILM ■

Children of Night

AUSTIN W. BRAMWELL

MAN may be in doubt whether to deem himself man or beast, but much of pop culture seems to have figured him—or at least the male half—out once and for all. From *Maxim* magazine to television's *The Man Show*, adult men are typically portrayed as animals who desire little more than food, sleep, and sex. The "stud," in reality the most pitiable of beasts, has become the archetype of masculinity. Strangely, both conservatives and feminists tend to accept this understanding, and differ only to the extent that they think maleness can be overcome. Feminists recommend extinction, arguing that men should become just like women, whereas conservatives favor domestication, arguing that men need incentives, lacking in an era of sexual latitudinarianism, to provide comfort and protection. Neither side considers that perhaps it is not maleness that is the problem, but its own crude notion of what maleness is.

Happily, however, pop culture sometimes matures faster than the intellectuals. M. Night Shyamalan's recent trio of films (*The Sixth Sense*, *Unbreakable*, and *Signs*), whose box-office success has earned him the honorific "The Next Spielberg," depict men as neither prisoners of marriage and family nor satisfied animals unperturbed by love, death, God, or doubts about who they are. According to Shyamalan, men are very different—and more noble—creatures than many today would have us believe.

Perhaps, then, it is necessary that his movies be so unabashedly, even determinedly, lowbrow. They have none of the rhetorical smirks by which screenwriters signal to their fellow Ivy League graduates that, of course, nobody really believes this stuff, before delivering the block-bluster entertainment that the audience expects. The 1990s saw the creation of a new cultural category—deliberate camp—as if excellence were neither possible nor, ultimately, desirable. In quiet rebuke of this trend (in some ways, *The Sixth Sense* and *Unbreakable* were harbingers of the post-9/11 consciousness), each of Shyamalan's movies visits the tropes of popular mythology without embarrassment. *The Sixth Sense* is about, well, ghosts, who act just as we imagine they do, sometimes leaping out and scaring us, restless and angry but not really meaning any harm. *Unbreakable* tells the story of two comic-book characters, a hero and villain with complementary super-powers and weaknesses. *Signs* depicts aliens, naked green humanoids that try to take over Earth and harvest its inhabitants. Even Shyamalan's favorite cinematic devices, such as not showing the monsters on screen until the end, are comfortably routine (while still making our frightened imaginations run amok). He makes movies rather than films, entertainment rather than art, and, just in case anyone misses the point, he names *Jaws* and *Star Wars* in interviews as his favorite movies.

■

Shyamalan's movies treat religion with a sympathy rarely seen in Hollywood.

■

This attachment to pop culture is not mere caprice, nor even in the spirit of *épater les intellectuels* (although, having studied film at New York University, Shyamalan surely knows something about what nettles *les intellectuels* most). Rather, Shyamalan has recognized that we express our deepest longings through the mythopoetic impulse. As one of the characters in *Unbreakable* says of comic books, "I believe that [they] are a form of history that someone, somewhere felt or experienced [before] those experiences or history got chewed up in the commercial machine, got jazzed up, made titillating for the sale rack." While some conservatives have, often quixotically, turned to high culture to preserve and revitalize civilization, Shyamalan has turned instead to popular storytelling; he is Alexandre Dumas to their Matthew Arnold. Mindful that Arnold saw high culture in part as a substitute for religion, we might wonder whether Shyamalan has the better of the argument.

Indeed, as many commentators have noticed, Shyamalan's movies treat religion with a sympathy rarely seen in Hollywood. To be sure, they do not betray intimate familiarity with any particular religion, nor do they illustrate elaborate theological truths. Religion nevertheless remains central to Shyamalan's storytelling. In *The Sixth Sense*, a child psychiatrist has a patient who prays "*De profundis clamo Domine*" (Out of the depths I cry to thee, O Lord) through his toy figurines; only when the hero sees that he cannot himself save the child—so that the child was correct to cry to God rather than man—does he realize who he is. In *Unbreakable*, a mother's prophecy that "God has a plan for everyone" turns out to be correct: Her son and his physical and moral opposite become engaged in a Manichaean struggle of good against evil. In *Signs*, Shyamalan's most explicitly theological movie, an Episcopal priest, after cursing God for allowing his wife to die in a car accident, returns to his calling when he witnesses the reality of Providence. Even the thrills that Shyamalan so expertly produces have a religious significance. The philosopher Rudolph Otto once famously identified "the idea of the holy" with the experience of terror, the *mysterium tremendum* that tells us that *something is out there*. Shyamalan sets himself apart by taking

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that experience seriously enough to speculate as to what exactly that something is. Although his suggestions turn out to be more pagan than Christian, religious believers have responded enthusiastically to Shyamalan's movies because they recognize, as he does, that the truth about who we are is far stranger than what those who would confine us to this small patch of earth are able to imagine.

The central theme, however, of Shyamalan's movies is not so much what this strange truth is (the answers that they provide are, quite obviously, unsatisfactory) but what to do with that truth once we find it. In each of them an encounter with a child precipitates the hero's epiphany. For Shyamalan, as for Wordsworth, the child is father of the man. Unlike Wordsworth, however, Shyamalan does not see children as symbols of natural innocence; rather, their superior insight torments them and makes them long for the artificial innocence of adulthood. Children know more than the adults because they can imagine more, but they do not have the understanding with which to deal with it. Only when the adult male hero also knows the strange and sometimes terrible truth can the children be delivered from their distress.

Shyamalan shows, in other words, how only with the characteristically male virtues can we cope with the knowledge of who we are. One of these virtues is courage. Children in Shyamalan's films, knowing the truth, become afraid and seek to hide from it, whereas men, equally afraid, can stand up to it. In *Signs*, the hero learns that an alien, the avatar of his family's fears, is locked up in the pantry. Rather than leave (as most others, including those in the audience, would rather do), he faces the panting, pacing enemy before him and learns how to defeat him. Another virtue is loyalty: Shyamalan's heroes do not flee from their station, but willingly assume duties they may not have anticipated. In *The Sixth Sense*, for example, the hero teaches the child that he must serve others in order to conquer his fears; in *Unbreakable*, the hero can tell his son but not his wife of his powers because only his son would understand the duties he must perform. The justice of Oedipus, another mythical hero, may have undone him, but Shyamalan's men are vindicated by their virtues.

In this respect, his movies turn out to be unwittingly Christian. Ezra Pound once described Christ as a "mate of the wind and sea," a flinty savior unafraid to drive men out of his house, thereby reminding us that the Christian savior is decidedly masculine. In Shyamalan's movies, as in the Gospels, with great strength comes not brutishness but responsibility to serve and protect others, and, as in the Gospels, this theme makes for not only great storytelling but profound truth. In telling the story once more, Shyamalan has done all culture—high and low—a great service. **NR**

■ BOOKS IN BRIEF ■

On Whale Island: Notes from a Place I Never Meant to Leave, by Daniel Hays (Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, 240 pp., $22.95)

THIS book is by the co-author of *My Old Man and the Sea*, the incomparable account of travel on a 25-foot sailboat from Old Lyme, Connecticut, to Old Lyme, Connecticut, via Cape Horn. Daniel Hays was then 24 and not quite grown up. Now he is 39 and not quite grown up—which is how those who wonder at his naturalist and solipsistic obsessions wish it would always be. A brilliant and articulate father (David) was dominant in the first book, but this one is all Daniel and his little island off Nova Scotia to which he took his bride and stepchild for one year of exultant isolation. He is hardly indifferent to the lively, combative wife who endured it all ("for Wendy, my joy forever" is his dedication), or to the bookish 12-year-old Boy Tarzan, superbly exfoliated ("Last month Stephan got to the part in *The Princess Bride* where the hero dies. He burst into tears and threw the book into the ocean. I waded in, dried it off, and read it to him until the hero came back to life. He sniffled a little, and then he took the book back").

Hays is a superb writer of the outdoors and the indoors, and chronicles even his own misanthropy with wit and cunning ("I seem to be unbearable to my family. Especially at night, when I must turn on the radio so my thoughts can unfocus, otherwise they cling on and on, leaving fractal trails in multiple shades of black"). When he has only one more day of the committed 365 to stay on his island, he writes, "I'm content here, and I'm watching the seasons go by and I want to stay forever this simple. I can hear an outboard, Kingsland's foghorn, the bell buoy off Weed Harbor, a high note of wind in the trees, a distant surf. The house shudders in the wind, small gusts shaking the glass globe in the lamp. A birdsong, another deeper background wind noise, some specific waves."

This book can't be held up as a guide for Thoreauvians intending to do the same thing, since there are not enough of these to satisfy a publisher. But, sure, there'll be others—they are not entirely different, after all, from the legions who set out on a boat alone intending a circumnavigation. Yet it is amusing (and instructive) to survey a list of what was consumed on Whale Island in 365 days: toilet paper, 0.2 miles; beer, 96 bottles; wood, 4.9 cords; propane, 380 lbs.; Monopoly, 47 games played. Electricity: "In one year we used the equivalent of one electric stove with its broiler and all four burners going for one hour."

The list is followed by "Major fits: I'm leaving. (4) I'm dying. (7) You make my life hell. (16) What the hell am I doing here? (15) I have no life (44) We're out of chocolates. (1)"

Devotion to nature at Hays's level of intensity and lyricism is hard to keep up. But Hays does it. "I could never listen this completely before. I have stood in our harbor and heard water being dragged through seaweed, a jellyfish turning over, a ripple being reflected off a rock. Just for these new sounds in my life I want to stay here forever." He has left Whale Island, which is of course the right thing to do, though doing the right thing can be a pain. If he decides to go back, we'll find a nice place for Wendy and Stephan.

—WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

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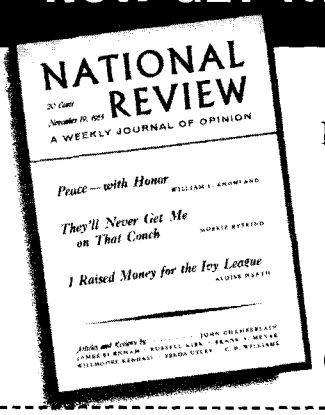
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WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

The Waters of Waco Unavailing

NEW YORK, AUGUST 13

As the presidential team meets in Waco to repristinate the face of capitalism, signs of difficulty at a cultural level are everywhere. The *Wall Street Journal* informs us that defense attorneys are having a difficult time finding jurors who are unaffected by the desire to damage any defendant with a corporate background. In one recent case, a poll was taken of 50 prospective jurors. They were asked to agree or not to the statement, "Corporate executives will lie to increase their profits." Over 50 percent agreed. It is suggested that what we might call Enron, Inc., has had an analogous effect on American views of business as Watergate had on views of government.

That is persuasive, but it pays to remind ourselves that government infidelities have means of ablution in the political world. Whatever the demoralization brought on by Watergate, it was pretty well expunged by the resignation of President Nixon, followed by the Democratic whiplash of November 1974. Nobody can confidently say what would have happened to Bill Clinton if, a few months after pledging to the American people an untruth, he had had to run for re-election. The Clinton episode certainly told the country that the highest official in the land can continue as chief enforcer of the law even after spectacularly traducing the law. There are those who believe that inasmuch as the Clinton case was sex-oriented, coming to terms with it marked an American cultural pubescence. Everybody in sight remarked, at the time, that what Clinton did would not have received more than a few sticks of type if done in Europe by a chief executive.

But there is no dramatic episode of any kind that business can contrive, or engage in, which would alter the disposition of the juror to believe that corporate executives "will lie" in order to increase their profits. Moreover, the great caterwaulers will do everything they can to press their point, which is, essentially, that capitalism is inherently corrupt. *The Nation* magazine hasn't been so happy about the corporate scene since the Great Depression. Back then, the editors could innocently wonder about Marxist alternatives. That doesn't so much work any more, since the Marxist model has had its own setbacks. But the library of derision is enormously enlivened, and we cannot be surprised that the typical juror, reading in that morning's paper about the latest corporate thief, holds the business culture as untrustworthy.

We have then, too, the great bards of conspiratorial evil, king of them, for a season or two, Oliver Stone. He produced a movie a few years ago in which he asked the American people to believe that the assassination of Kennedy was done by other than Oswald acting alone, that the police in Dallas were in on the fix, as also the FBI, as also the CIA, as also the doctors at Parkland Hospital and at the White House, as also President Johnson, members of the Supreme Court, and the *World Almanac*. Now the news here isn't that Stone, the fabulist, created an engrossing fantasy; it is that 70 percent of the American people, after viewing it, concluded that indeed the Warren Report was wrong and corrupt.

Asked for comment on the general scene, Oliver Stone, who also directed the movie *Wall Street*, gave it to us straight: "In my opinion, I think [President Bush] has been a complete disaster on every level."

There is nothing in the Waco Waters that will serve as an elixir to console the public during this period of quite genuine grief over the high incidence of corporate duplicity. To attempt consolation by the formula of Winston Churchill ("democracy is the worst form of government except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time") doesn't give instant relief, on the order of effecting the resignation of a president. Mr. Bush can't do more than to say that certain growths in the capitalist system have been identified, and that to the extent it is possible to minister to them by legislation, that much is being done.

Beyond that, at Waco, our governors can only reiterate their professions of faith in the American system, emphasizing that our commercial life is an aspect of our commitment to freedom in our political life, indeed in life itself.

"The dolphins all crawled away and hid in the ocean—we'd better switch to Plan 'B' with the monkeys."

Are We Owed An Apology?

NEW YORK, AUGUST 16

The charges by the Reverend Franklin Graham are not only justified, they are unanswerable. *Time* magazine reports that the bowdlerizers at the University of North Carolina have got out a special edition of the Koran (political correctness: the Qur'an). The book, handed out to incoming freshmen, is designed to communicate the teachings of the Prophet. This edition is exorcised of any sentiments such as might have impelled the knights of 9/11 to plunge themselves and their steeds into live Americans, innocent of any infidelity to Islam, this side of not adhering to it. By the law of averages, there were certainly some Islamic victims in the Twin Towers. Abiders of the faith were not blocked at the door that morning.

Dr. Graham, like his father, Billy, takes his religion seriously. Doing that is an effrontery in a Comstockean age. Religions are acceptable only when shorn of anything that pricks, like hellfire. It is Dr. Graham's point that if we assume, for the sake of ecumenical bonhomie, that the terrorists were not really representing Islam, that they were extremists torturing the word of the Prophet. Okay. Then that is exactly what we should be told by men of Islam in authority. And that should be easy to

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do, inasmuch as the high priests of the Islamic world are also its secular leaders: The Muslim religion does not condone the separation of church and state.

What Dr. Graham is being so widely criticized for saying is that the people in charge in Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Indonesia, and other Muslim countries, should handle the al-Qaeda problem less detachedly than they have done. There were expressions of regret, on September 12, from the leaders of the Islamic world, but none of them repentant. The Pope, a couple of years ago, apologized for 500-year-old distortions of Christianity at the expense of the Jews, and his words were heeded and appreciated. There weren't any Christians around, when Pope John Paul spoke, who in the name of the Christian faith were out there killing non-Christians. Permissible limits of evangelization had long since been coalesced, in a fast-moving world. The 19th century—yesterday!—was when slaves were bought and sold, women were without suffrage, and Catholics and Jews were forbidden in Great Britain, the august mother of democracy, to vote. But all that is viewed today as a very long time ago, moral ice-ages past.

If a band of Americans, proclaiming their devotion to the faith, assaulted a Muslim center, we would not need to wait very long for disavowals—by Christian leaders. When John Brown carried his faith to unreasonable lengths, we hanged him. What we are waiting for, says Dr. Graham, is an apology from Muslim leaders. Why shouldn't we have that? An explicit disavowal—as contrary to acceptable teachings of the Koran—of the acts of the terrorists.

What we have got is denunciations of Dr. Graham for admitting the hypothetical possibility that the September 11 actors were credible Muslims. Dr. Faiz Rehman, who is communications director for the American Muslim Council, says that Dr. Graham "is sounding like a broken record." But the silence of the sovereign Muslim community is sounding like unbroken muteness. If the position of the American Muslim Council is that it is humiliating even to speculate that the killers had a root in Islam, they should tell us what it is they plan to do about those in the Muslim world who applaud the terrorists' acts and their mission.

You and I—because we are so intelligent(!) and balanced morally(!)—know that what happened on September 11 can only be dismissed as a perversion. A perversion of something. But our concern is that our blissful sophistication in such matters isn't shared as widely as it ought to be. When we conquered Hitler, we denied the Germans the right to buy a copy of *Mein Kampf*. Should we ask the Muslim leaders to circulate only the University of North Carolina edition of the Qur'an?

Lewdness Abounding

NEW YORK, AUGUST 20

THE incident is not easy to read about. At Lexis/Nexis one tries, "Sex at St. Patrick's Cathedral" and draws a blank. A newspaper account, reaching for taxonomic neutering, spoke of "lewdness at St. Patrick's." But the police, accustomed to direct language, told the story of what had actually happened.

A couple, he 37, she 35, entered into a contest which paid premium points for having sex in venerable quarters. The actors colluded with a broadcaster, advising him where it was they intended to do their scandal. The prizes were very specific, intending to reward the derring-do of progressively august sites. Doing it at Rockefeller Center was worth 30 points, doing it with a cop or a fireman, microphone standing by, got a whopping 100 points. Doing it in a church got you 25 points. Not as big a deal as Rockefeller Center, but 25 points is not nothing, you'd agree.

Well, the two exhibitors lined up their broadcaster, who followed them to St. Patrick's on a day (the Feast of the Assumption) when it was crowded with worshippers, and proceeded to fornication, the studio "comedian," as described, standing a few feet off providing running on-air commentary of the act. This was a high-act venture in coitus interruptus, because the cops swarmed in. The exhibitionists were arrested, charged with public lewdness, and released on $500 bail each, their lawyer insisting that her clients had never removed their clothes, so how could they have had sex?; the comic broadcaster, Paul Mercurio, was charged with acting in concert with public lewdness; and the whole thing quickly recedes from memory, with the encouragement of Lexis/Nexis. But it shouldn't be so. This was not an itinerant team of street artists.

The whole operation was a part of a regular program called *Opie and Anthony*, which has now been at least temporarily suspended. The radio station that gleefully reported on the scene through its broadcaster Mercurio wasn't a gypsy station. WNEW-FM is a part of the Infinity Radio network. The Infinity Radio network is not an arm of Playboy, Inc. It is an arm of Viacom. This is a giant corporation which owns not only New York radio stations that sponsor pornography in church, but also huge divisions of entertainment at large, including MTV and Blockbuster Video. The CEO of Viacom is one Sumner Redstone, who is most directly answerable for WNEW's exhibitionists, and the president is Mel Karmazin. Viacom has impressive board members. They include a former congressman and minister, William H. Gray III, who is head of the United Negro College Fund. Also Ivan Seidenberg, CEO of Verizon, and David McLaughlin, former president of Dartmouth and current chairman of the American Red Cross.

Now these fancy people have a public responsibility, everybody agrees. That function isn't to review every tape offered for sale by Blockbuster, or examine every video broadcast by MTV. But we have to assume that public people should own up to public responsibility for studied attempts to assault that which people hold sacred. We have had many reports in recent years of desecrations of synagogues. None comes to mind that was sponsored by a radio station owned by a corporate colossus. It is inconceivable that were such a thing to happen, the highest officials of the corporation would do less than express their profound sorrow, embarrassment, and regret. As president of Dartmouth, Mr. McLaughlin dealt very severely with undergraduates who, in his judgment, had trivialized shanties associated with the South African liberation movement. McLaughlin knows the importance of symbolism.

The program was *Firing Line*, the guest, Archbishop Fulton Sheen. Question: "Bishop Sheen, you've got the reputation now of being remarkably permissive. Is there any sin for which you would call for instant excommunication?"

"Yes. The desecration of the Blessed Sacrament."

That was done a few feet from where Bishop Sheen gave the most celebrated sermons in 20th century history.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

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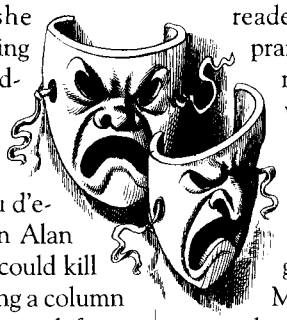
■ THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER ■

FLORENCE KING

I'VE given you a peek into the files I've been throwing out, but there's still one left: my NOT file. It's where I've kept notes for what I initially thought would make good columns, but which, for one reason or another, did not work out. You're better off not knowing about some of them, but I found a few that are suitable for polite company, so here they are, along with my reasons for spiking them.

1. *Ayn Rand.* I abandoned this one for the simple reason that she exhausts me. That unrelenting intensity and repetitive bludgeoning, that preference for the battle ax over the rapier, that disdain for grace notes and the occasional jeu d'esprit. She's even worse than Alan Keyes—either one of them could kill you. Just thinking about doing a column on her was like thinking about defrosting the fridge or cleaning the oven; I kept taking my notes out and putting them back, telling myself "next time," all the while knowing that next time would never come if I could help it.



It's an odd way to feel about a writer with whom I thoroughly agree, but it's merely a clash of temperaments, not philosophy. One of the bones I have always picked with conservatism is its total rejection of Ayn Rand because of her atheism. To me, there is much more to conservatism than religion, so I cherish a passage from *The Fountainhead* that speaks to one such issue. Everyone who shares my revulsion against the touchy-feely, emotion-drenched, low-class, womanish mush that America calls "compassion" will appreciate Rand's description of Howard Roark's office:

> He did not smile at his employees, he did not take them out for drinks, he never inquired about their families, their love lives or their church attendance. He responded only to the essence of a man: to his creative capacity. In this office one had to be competent. There were no alternatives, no mitigating considerations. But if a man worked well, he needed nothing else to win his employer's benevolence: it was granted, not as a gift, but as a debt. It was granted, not as affection, but as recognition. It bred an immense feeling of self-respect within every man in that office.

2. *Elliot Richardson.* Now you know my secret crush: a Northeastern liberal Republican, almost as bad as having a secret crush on Nelson Rockefeller or Christie Todd Whitman. I knew a lot of readers would take umbrage if I praised him, but what really kept me from writing about him was that I didn't have enough material—just my memory of his refusal to fire Archibald Cox and his subsequent resignation as Nixon's attorney general, plus one column by Mary McGrory, of all people, who evidently had a secret crush on him too.

She called him "the ultimate public servant" and said he had "an exalted sense of office and duty," but it was her description of him as "incurably high-minded" that really struck home. She knew him well, while I had only seen him on TV, but it was love at first sight. I sensed a reassuring stuffiness in him, an old-money, George Apley quality reminiscent of threadbare Aubussons.

It was also love at first sound. Maybe it's because I was a Roosevelt baby, but I am forever listening for a voice with the power to reassure me. Richardson had it; something about the "r" and the "a". . . . I don't know, but it was the voice of a man with a code, like the old-world aristocrat who paid his gambling debts promptly but let his tailor wait. It might not have been fair, or made sense, but it was his code, and he followed it.

3. *Civility.* I didn't write this one for two reasons: Everybody and his brother was already writing about it and I didn't want to join the crowd; and it contained disparate elements—movies and personal experiences—that I couldn't get to segue as seamlessly as I like.

Two movies express my ideal of civility, both of them, ironically, about savages. *The Naked Prey*, starring Cornel Wilde, is about a white man tested in a deadly trial by African warriors, who strip him of weapons and all clothes except a loincloth, and force him onto a survival course with themselves in hot pursuit. It's a game of "May the best man win," and he does, by outwitting his pursuers, killing revolting food with his bare hands, and fashioning weapons out of nothing. At last, as the colonial fort comes into view, his pursuers stop. Looking back at them, he sees the admiring chief raise his hand in a brusque salute, which he returns in the same spirit.

The other movie is *Zulu*, starring Michael Caine, the true story of a vastly outnumbered British force who successfully defended their remote outpost against endless swarming hordes of South African tribesmen. At the end, the Zulus serenade their triumphant enemy with a song of congratulation, and the Welsh Guards respond with an equally respectful rendition of "Men of Harlech." If you need antidotes to the Enron era, watch these two movies.

My most memorable personal experiences with civility involve my parents. Once, my father needed a dime for something and asked my mother, who said, "Look in my pocketbook." But he wouldn't. Instead he picked it up and brought it to her. That's all that happened, but it was enough for me.

The other incident occurred when I was nine. My aunt was having her first baby and my uncle promised he would send us a telegram as soon as it came. Since I had never even seen a telegram, I begged him to address it to me, and he promised he would. He did. It came while I was at school and my mother signed for it. It lay on the table untouched until I got home. She was dying to know about the baby but she would not open it because it had my name on it.

4. *Queen Mary.* The present Queen's grandmother, she was a fixture of my childhood whose remembered stateliness fills me with such a sense of loss that I couldn't bring myself to write about her. Suffice to say she was so regal that at the Princess Royal's wedding in 1922, nearsighted E. M. Forster bowed to the elaborate towering cake in the belief that it was Queen Mary. **NR**

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Will American Interests Be Defended?

"Make no mistake, our trade laws are under attack at the WTO." declared Senator Larry Craig (R-ID) during the debate on "fast track" trade negotiating authority.

U.S. Trade Representative Robert Zoellick broke with past U.S. policy and placed America's trade laws on the negotiating table. Zoellick then fought hard for "fast track" to limit debate and ban amendments to any trade agreements he might make.

Why is does Ambassador Zoellick want Congress to shut up about trade policy?

Because he doesn't want democracy to intrude. As he told the Institute for International Economics last September, "international accords impinge on specific economic interests in every one of 435 Congressional districts and all 50 states – with each interest well-positioned to press for a twist of protection here or special treatment there."

Yet, these interests are American interests, rooted in the towns and farms and factories of this country. They are supposed to be represented by those who are elected by Americans to legislate in their behalf. Zoellick, however, prefers the interests of transnational corporations with overseas interests and foreign partners. His unelected advisory committees are filled with their representatives, who are free to speak and lobby and propose amendments every day.

The American people will not be shut out of the trade policy process when their jobs and communities are at stake. Congress has still mandated that U.S. trade laws be preserved—not surrendered, in WTO negotiations.

As Sen. Craig (R-ID) warned from the Senate floor "Ambassador Zoellick...hear us loud: Do it right or bring it back here and we defeat it."

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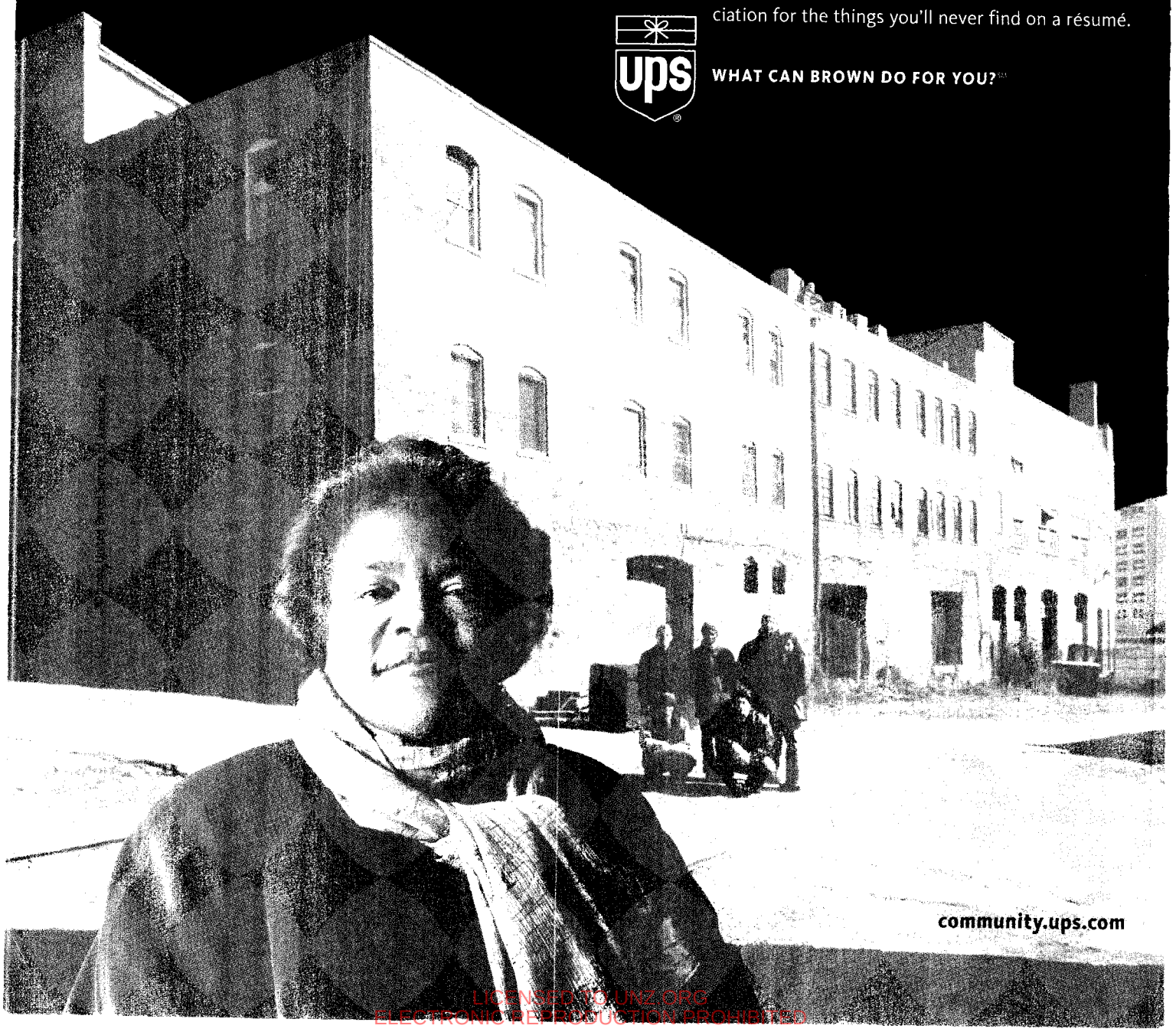

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